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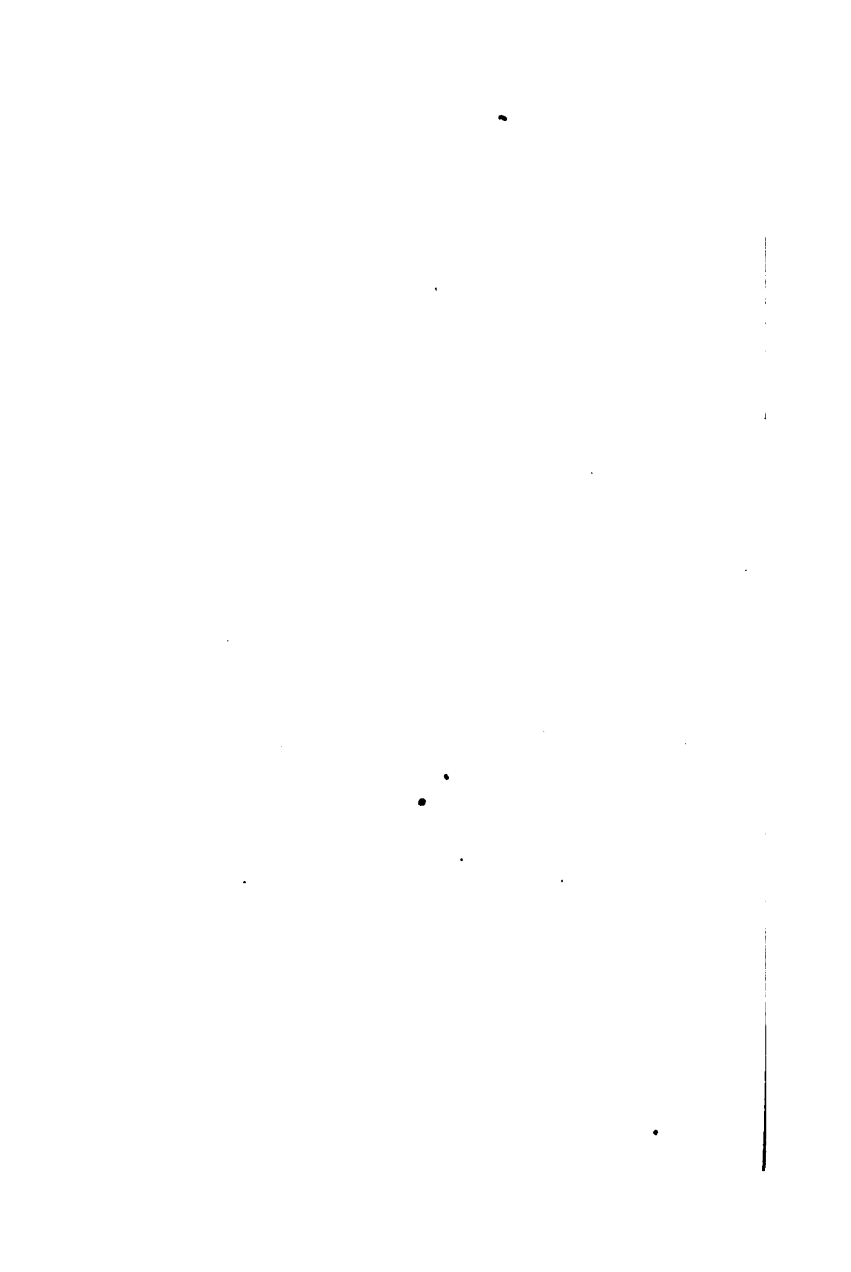
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ALGERNON SIDNEY.

THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME IX.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

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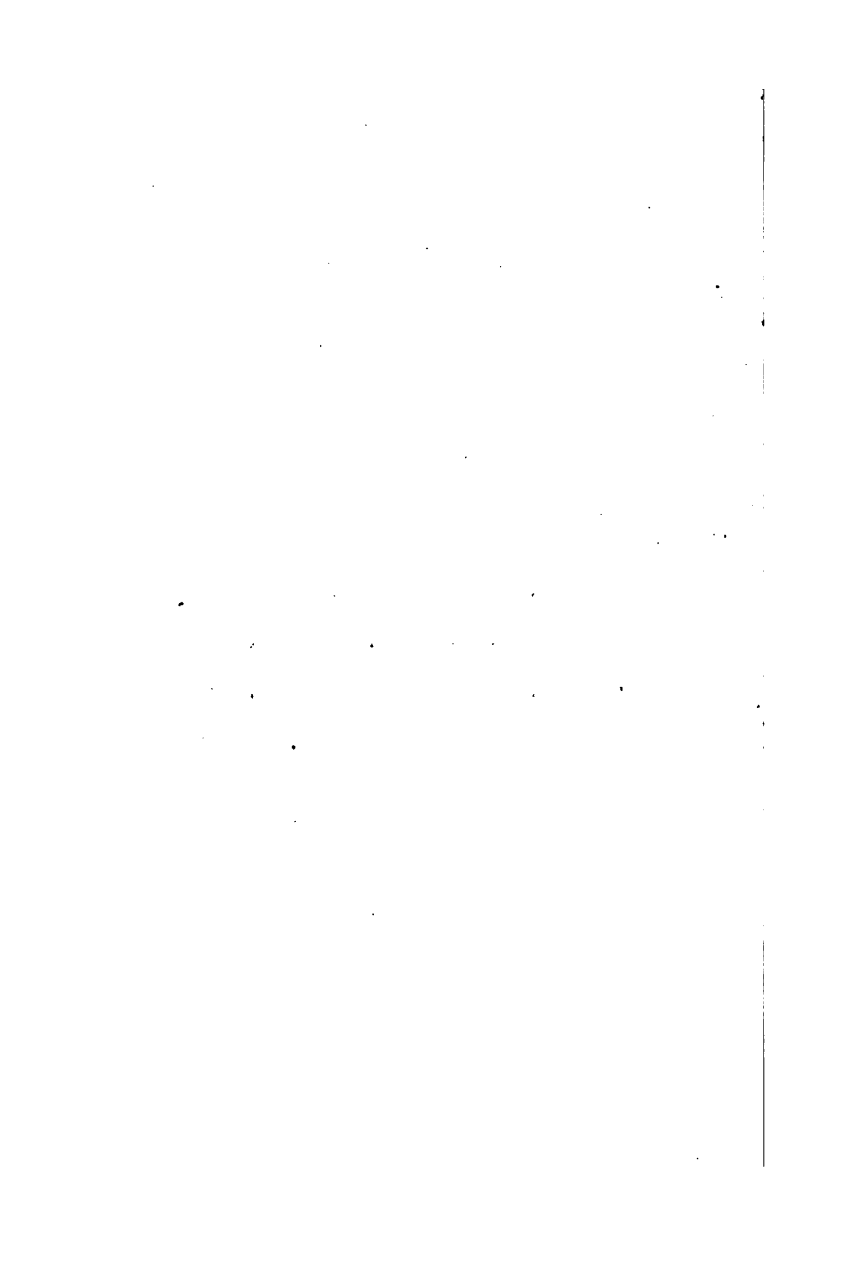
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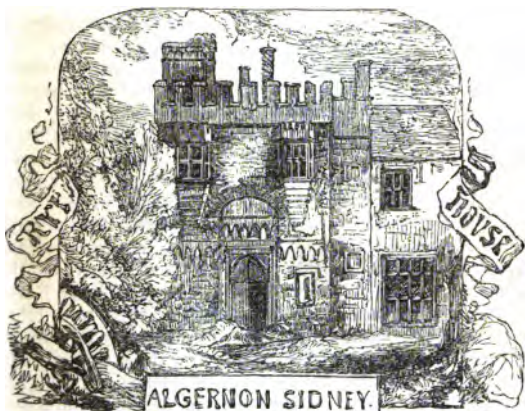
London : Printed by W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.

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CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY OF BRITISH WORTHIES.



ALGERNON SIDNEY, or SYDNEY, famed as one of the staunchest of modern republicans, came partly of the same stock as the very loyal and poetical Sir Philip Sidney, that ornament of the Elizabethan age. Algernon was the second surviving son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of that creation, and of his wife Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland. Neither the place nor the date of his birth is mentioned ; but he is supposed to have been born in the year 1621 or 1622, towards the close of the reign of James I., and

it is most probable that Penshurst, in Kent, was his birth-place.

When his father, the Earl of Leicester, in 1632, went as ambassador from Charles I. to the court of Denmark, he took his young son Algernon with him; and four years after he likewise accompanied his father on his embassy to France. By this early residence in foreign countries he must have acquired that facility of learning languages for which he was somewhat distinguished among his contemporaries. But of his education very little is known. It is probable that, during his residence in Paris, he frequented the French schools and colleges, or was placed by his father under French masters. Although constitutional liberty had almost entirely disappeared in France, and the government of that country had been converted into a most absolute monarchy, there was a latent, abstract love of republican institutions among many of the French professors (albeit ecclesiastics) and men of letters, and the great commonwealths and republican heroes of antiquity were, almost exclusively, proposed as the studies and models of youths. This continued to obtain down to the outbreak of the great French Revolution in 1789; and many of the lamentable errors, blunders, and crimes of that Revolution, are to be clearly and directly traced to a blind and passionate imitation of the sternest Republicans of Greece and Rome, whose deeds were, in part, repugnant to the religious faith and feelings of modern society, and in good part misunderstood by their professed imitators. No doubt, this admiration for the ancient forms of republican government was, among the French—as also in the greater part of Italy,—all the stronger from the despotically monarchic character of their own institutions, and all the blinder, more passionate, and unreasoning from their long and total exclusion from practical self-government, and from their consequent want of acquaintance with the real workings of an actually free or representative government. The languages of Greece and Rome absorbed the attention of the youths of England perhaps even more than that of the young students of France, and

Oxford and Cambridge were constantly re-echoing the fame of the antique republican worthies; but when an Englishman quitted his college and the world that was, for the world that is, he saw the actual operation of a mixed and comparatively free government, he came in contact with practical men familiar with parliaments or municipal councils, and he saw that he himself might one day have a share, more or less prominent, in the government of his country or in some of its municipal administrations. He could then compare the ancient Republics with a modern limited monarchy; the French could only contrast them with their own despotism. What we now call the British Constitution was not really born until five years after Algernon Sidney's death; and, at the time of his birth, the despotic temper of the Tudors, the speculative absolutism of James I. and his scandalous disuse of Parliaments, had certainly made great inroads on the old liberties of the country; but still the municipal freedom—the source of, and the best security for, all constitutional liberty—had scarcely been touched, and Englishmen had the habits of a free people, and much practice in governing themselves.

From whatever cause it may have proceeded, Sidney's republicanism does not appear of English growth; it bears no resemblance to the devout and mystical republicanism of Sir Harry Vane, the vulgar conventicle republicanism of General Harrison, or the camp republicanism of Ludlow—still less does it resemble the adaptive republicanism of Milton—it has an exotic, antique character, hard, unimaginative, and impracticable, having hardly anything in common either with the theory or the practice of any of the remarkable men that made the short-lived English Commonwealth. These men looked at the existing Republics of Holland, Switzerland, Genoa, Venice: Sidney hardly condescended to look lower than Greece and Rome.

His first entrance upon public life was in 1641, when he was about nineteen or twenty years old. The Irish Papists had risen in rebellion and had perpetrated a horrible massacre of the Protestants. The Earl of Lei-

cester, Algernon's father, was then Lord-Lieutenant, and Algernon commanded a troop of horse in the Earl's own regiment. Both he and his elder brother, Lord Viscount Lisle, distinguished themselves by their gallantry in the campaigns of 1641 and 1642, during which a fearful retaliation was inflicted upon the Irish. It became a fixed unalterable belief with the adversaries of that unhappy prince, that Charles I. had secretly promoted the insurrection as a means of thwarting the designs of that Parliament, with which he was on the very verge of a civil war.

Returning to England in August, 1643, when the civil war was raging, and when English blood had been shed in torrents at Edgehill, at Chalgrove, at Newbury, and in many other sternly-contested fields, Algernon and his elder brother, who professed to be on their way to join the king, then at Oxford, were seized as they landed in Lancashire, by order of the Parliament. By this incident they lost the favour of Charles, who believed that before quitting Ireland they had made up their minds to join his enemies, and that their capture was of their own contrivance. Similar *ruses*, common in most civil wars, were not unknown in this.

Both Algernon and his elder brother, Lord Lisle, forthwith joined the Parliamentarians. Algernon became captain of a troop of horse in the regiment of the Presbyterian Earl of Manchester, who, in brief space of time, was driven from his high command by Cromwell and Fairfax, and the self-denying ordinances. In April, 1645, Fairfax, as lord-general, or commander-in-chief for Parliament, raised Algernon to the rank of Colonel, and gave him a regiment; and in 1646, his brother, Lord Lisle, having become lieutenant-general of Ireland, he was made lieutenant-general of the horse in that kingdom, and governor of Dublin. His name, at this period, frequently occurs in the pages of Rushworth and Whitelock, the two great annalists or registrars of the Parliamentarians; and he is generally mentioned as a brave and active officer whose faith and steadiness to Parliament were undoubted. In fact, he was now himself

a member of the Long Parliament, having been returned member for Cardiff at the beginning of the year 1646, before he went to Dublin. In May, 1647, having returned to London, Algernon received the thanks of the House of Commons for his services in Ireland, and was appointed governor of Dover Castle. In 1648, though then only twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, he, as well as his brother, Lord Lisle, acted as one of the judges on the irregular trial of Charles I. It is said that he was not present when the sentence was passed, and he certainly did not sign the warrant for the execution. But he afterwards justified that execution, and thereby, and by other words and acts, he drew down upon himself the implacable resentment of the Royalist party, whose hour of vengeance was coming.

When Cromwell resolved to break up the remnant of the Long Parliament, called the Rump, which was certainly throwing, or threatening to throw, the whole nation into a state of anarchy, he looked upon Algernon Sidney as a very dangerous and obstinate member of it, —as a pragmatical and resolute republican, who would be sure to oppose the trying of his grand political problem or experiment,—“*What if a man should take upon him to be king?*”

Algernon was in his place when Oliver arrived in the House to “take away that bauble” (the speaker’s mace), to turn out the members, lock up the doors, and carry off the keys in his pocket. And Algernon continued firm in his seat, thinking, mayhap, of the Roman senators in their curule chairs and of the impious Gauls who took them by the beard, when the musqueteers had been called in, and had forcibly thrust out Sir Harry Vane, Wentworth, and Harry Marten. In this attitude of contemptive defiance Algernon attracted the eye of Cromwell, who shouted to Harrison (who was as active in ending this parliament as Colonel Pride had been in purging it), “Put him out! Put that man out!” Harrison told Sidney that he must rise and be gone. Sidney replied that he would not go; and he sate until the lord-general shouted again “Put him out!” and until Harri-

son and Worsley laid their hands upon his shoulders, as if they would force him. Then the indignant republican rose, and walked towards the door. In a few more seconds the house was entirely cleared—"For," says Whitelock, who was present, "among all the parliament, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance against him, but all of them tamely departed the house."*

Among the one hundred and thirty-nine persons,—“Known persons, fearing God and of approved integrity”—whom Cromwell, after his unceremonious dissolution of the Rump, chose to be a parliament or convention, and summoned to Westminster by his own writ, was Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, and a close political associate of Algernon Sidney.

Upon his expulsion Algernon withdrew into the country. It is said that he would never enter into any compromise with the Cromwellians, or accept of any post, service, or kindness from the Protector; but it does not very clearly appear that the Protector ever tempted him with the offer of such things. In 1658, when Oliver made his new upper house, or House of Lords, or “other house,” as it was more commonly called, Algernon’s elder brother, Lord Lisle, who appears to have been of an accommodating spirit, was chosen by the Protector to be a member of it. But Algernon remained in retirement during the whole of the protectorate of Cromwell and his son Richard. There is reason to believe that he resided chiefly at the family seat of Penshurst, where, in the midst of quiet, pleasant, pastoral scenery, the gifted Sir Philip Sidney had been born, and where he was thought by some to have written his ‘Arcadia.’ The mind of Algernon was much less likely to derive inspiration from those Kentish scenes.

In May, 1659, only nine months after the death of the great Oliver, the members of the Rump restored themselves as a legitimate parliament; or, rather, they were

* Memorials.

restored by the army and Lambert and Fleetwood, as they had been dismissed by the army and Cromwell and Harrison. About one hundred members took their seats "to improve," as they loudly proclaimed, "the present opportunity, and settle and secure the peace and freedom of the Commonwealth." Their first proceeding was to pass a declaration that there should no longer be any single person, protectorate, kingship, or House of Peers. Algernon Sidney now reappeared in public; and Richard Cromwell, happy to retire into private life, signed his demission, from the protectorate, in form. On the 13th of May, Sidney was nominated, by the Republicans, one of their new Council of State. This council seized all the powers which had been so triumphantly wielded by Oliver Cromwell: it consisted of thirty-one persons, who, though all professing republicanism, differed very widely in their views, aspirations, and interests: Sir Harry Vane, and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (Shaftesbury), were members of it, and so also were Fairfax, Lambert, Fleetwood, Desborough, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Ludlow, St. John, and Whitelock. Two of them—Whitelock and Anthony Ashley Cooper—were almost immediately accused of carrying on a secret correspondence "with Charles Stuart and Sir Edward Hyde, beyond seas;" others were set down as visionaries or madmen who would ruin the good old cause, without meaning it; and, while they disagreed among themselves and disgusted all the Cromwellians, they lost the confidence of the downright republicans, whose energy had been great, but whose number had always been very limited.

At this crisis, when his darling republic was falling to pieces, and when General Monk, with a full assurance of success, was preparing to bring in Charles II. without limitations or conditions, Algernon Sidney accepted a diplomatic mission, and went to Denmark, along with Sir Robert Honeywood and Mr. Borne, to help in negotiating a peace between that country and Sweden. And now the catastrophe was precipitated by a quarrel between the Rump and the army, who had restored them.

Oblivious of their recent obligations, and of their present distractions, dependency, and helplessness, they resolved to wrest the command from the officers who had re-seated them, and insisted that new commissions should be taken out from themselves or their Council of State, and that the whole army should be immediately placed in a proper dependency on the civil power—i. e., on the Rump, who had no other right to be a parliament or council than that which the army had given them. As might have been foreseen, the men of the sword and of action, instead of submitting to be turned out themselves, turned out the men of the pen and of speeches and theories. The rough, blunt Desborough explained, in a very few words, the whole logic of the army. "Because," said he, "the parliament intended to dismiss *us*, we had a right to dismiss *the parliament*." This was, in effect, the death sentence of the Commonwealth.

Sidney was absent upon his mission when the restoration of Charles II. took place. In a letter written to him by his father shortly after the Restoration, and published in 'Familiar Letters, written by John late Earl of Rochester, and several other Persons of Honour,' 8vo., London, 1697, the Earl mentions a report which he had heard, that when the university of Copenhagen brought Sidney their album, and desired him to write something in it, he wrote,—

"... Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,"

and signed the verses with his name. This anecdote is confirmed by Lord Molesworth, who, in the Preface to his 'Account of Denmark' (first published in 1694), tells us, that even while Sidney was still at the Danish court, "M. Terlon, the French ambassador, had the confidence to tear out of the Book of Mottoes in the king's library" the above lines, "which Mr. Sidney, according to the liberty allowed to all noble strangers, had written in it." "Though M. Terlon," adds Lord Molesworth, "understood not a word of Latin, he was told by others the meaning of that sentence, which he considered as a

libel upon the French government, and upon such as was then setting up in Denmark by French assistance or example."* His father intimates, that this and some other things he had heard of him made him hesitate about speaking to the king in his behalf, as he had intended to do. "It is also said," continues the Earl, "that a minister who hath married a Lady Laurence here at Chelsea, but now dwelling at Copenhagen, being there in company with you, said, 'I think you were none of the late king's judges, nor guilty of his death,' meaning our king. 'Guilty!' said you. 'Do you call that a fault? Why, it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England, or anywhere else;' with other words to the same effect. It is said also that, you having heard of a design to seize upon you, or to cause you to be taken prisoner, you took notice of it to the King of Denmark himself, and said, 'I hear there is a design to seize upon me; but who is it that hath that design? *Est ce notre bandit?*' by which you are understood to mean the king. Besides this, it is reported that you have been heard to say many scornful and contemptuous things of the king's person and family, which, unless you can justify yourself, will hardly be forgiven or forgotten; for such personal offences make deeper impressions than public actions, either of war or treaty."

It is probable that none of these reports were to be gainsayed. Sidney, in his answer to his father, says, "That which I am reported to have written in the book at Copenhagen is true; and, never having heard that any sort of men were so worthily the objects of enmity as those I mentioned, I did never in the least scruple avowing myself to be an enemy unto them." Accordingly, instead of coming home, he proceeded first to Hamburg, whence he went to Frankfort, and from thence

* By a strange and sudden revolution, the burghers of Copenhagen, in 1660, overthrew the old Danish constitution, which had left the powers of the state in the hands of the proud tyrannical nobles. In seeking refuge from an oligarchical tyranny the Danes erected a kingly despotism.

to Rome, where he proposed to take up his residence. About the middle of the year 1661, however, he was forced to remove to Frascati; and he is afterwards traced to various places in Germany, France, and the Low Countries. At Rome he was remarked as a brave, free-speaking man, an admirable horseman, and an accomplished Italian scholar. In 1665 he was at the Hague, actively employed, along with other English exiles of the same political principles, in urging the States of Holland to invade England. During the disastrous, and, to the English government, disgraceful year 1667, some of the most fanatic of these exiles came over with De Ruyter and his Dutch fleet to the Thames and the Medway, and assisted in burning our men-of-war at Chatham. Algernon was at this time in Paris, urging Louis XIV. to declare war against Charles II., and endeavouring to impress upon that ultra-absolute monarch the inestimable advantage he and France would derive from the establishment of a republic in England. In a memorial to Louis, he engaged to procure a rising in England, if his Most Christian Majesty would only allow him a grant of 100,000 crowns. While the republican Sidney was begging for this money, Charles II., unknown to him, was making himself the pensioner of France, and was obtaining large sums from Louis XIV., for the avowed purpose of doing away with parliaments, and making the power of the crown absolute in England! With such republicans and such a king, the liberties of the English people were well nigh put in jeopardy. After long and fruitless solicitations to Louis, and intrigues with his ministers or their employés, Algernon withdrew, irritated, despondent, and very poor, into Gascony. There he appears to have remained until, in 1677, a pardon for his part in the late king's trial, &c., and permission for him to return home, were obtained from Charles II., on his own plea that he was anxiously desirous to see his aged and infirm father, the Earl of Leicester, once more before he died.

It is commonly stated that Sidney's pardon was obtained through the interest of the Earl of Sunderland,

who was the son of his sister Dorothy (Waller's 'Sacharissa'); but he himself, in a letter to the Hon. Henry Savile, then the English ambassador at the court of France, appears to attribute it to that gentleman's exertions. "My obligation unto you," he says, "I so far acknowledge . . . to be the greatest that I have in a long time received from any man, as not to value the leave you have obtained for me to return into my country, after so long an absence, at a lower rate than the saving of my life."

The Earl died that same year (1677), and, although he had never approved of the course his son Algernon had taken, left him a legacy of 5100*l.*, with which, he says, in his 'Apology,' dated on the day of his death, he would have immediately returned to Gascony, if he had not been detained by a long and tedious suit in Chancery, in which he was involved by his elder brother, now Earl of Leicester, choosing to dispute his father's will. Before this, Sidney appears to have been only assisted by his father with irregular and scanty remittances; and during his wanderings on the Continent he was often in great straits.

It was impossible that Sidney should long remain quiet in England. The misgovernment of the country, the vices of Charles II., the fanatical and tyrannical temper of his brother the Duke of York, the next in succession to the throne, excited the heads and hearts of cool, dispassionate men, and drove those of a less happy temperament into a frenzy. Many even of those who were attached to monarchy and the old institutions of the country foresaw the inevitableness of some great change—a change afterwards realized by the revolution of 1688, which put the crown upon the head of the politic, wise, and truly great William Prince of Orange.

In 1678, the year after his return, and the year which witnessed the most disgraceful, abominable parts of the Parliamentary proceedings against the so-called "Popish Plot," Sidney was a candidate for the representation of Guildford. Being defeated in that election, he stood in 1679 for Bramber. Being again defeated by a court

candidate, he petitioned against the return of his opponent, and was only unseated after a double return. He had thus openly taken his stand as the opponent of the king who had granted him his free pardon; and he was generally looked upon as leagued with the Earl of Shaftesbury (the Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper of former days), William Lord Russell, Lord Essex, Mr. Hampden, Trenchard, and the other popular leaders, who differed widely among themselves in their principles and views, but the designs of the most moderate of whom certainly extended to such a change of government as would have amounted to a revolution. At this moment Algernon Sidney, together with a score more of the patriots, received money from France; for Louis XIV., having little reliance on the steadiness or good faith of his pensioner Charles, was very desirous of strengthening our Parliamentary opposition, in order that they might bring about the reduction of the English army, and so bind their king to a neutrality, which must greatly favour that career of aggression and conquest the French had commenced on the continent of Europe. Though far, indeed, from being so rich as that nobleman, Sidney was no more a mean and mercenary man than William Lord Russell; and if he really took money from the French court, we may conclude that it was only to distribute it among others. As we have already said,—in our memoir of Lord Russell,—the papers discovered by Sir John Dalrymple, in the Archives at Versailles, are still open to doubt and rational controversy.* M. Barillon, the French minister at London, whose reputation is none of the best, may have charged his court with sums of money he never disbursed. Sidney was not in parliament, but he was closely united with those who were, and he was considered as the head of a small, disaffected party.

In a despatch dated 5th December, 1680, Barillon

* For various remarks on this mysterious subject, we refer the reader to Mr. Hallam's 'Constitutional History,' vol. ii. p. 274, of 4to. edition of 1827; and to the 'Pictorial History of England,' vol. iii. p. 727.

writes, "The *Sieur* Algernoon Sydney is a man of great views and very high designs, which tend to the establishment of a republic. He is in the party of the Independents and other sectaries; and this party were masters during the last troubles. They are not at present very powerful in parliament, but they are strong in London; and it is through the intrigues of the *Sieur* Algernoon Sydney that one of the two sheriffs, named Bethal, has been elected. The Duke of Buckingham is of the same party, and believes himself at the head, &c. . . . The service which I may draw from Mr. Sidney does not appear, for his connections are with obscure and concealed persons; but he is intimate with the *Sieur* Jones [Sir William Jones, lately attorney-general], who is a man of the greatest knowledge in the laws of England, and will be chancellor, if the party opposed to the court shall gain the superiority, and the Earl of Shaftesbury be contented with any other employment." And in the account of his disbursements among the patriots, from the 22nd December, 1678, to the 14th December, 1679, Barillon twice sets down the name of the *Sieur* Algernon Sidney, and for 500 guineas each time.*

In a despatch dated the 30th of September, 1680, Barillon describes the arguments Sidney was accustomed to use with him to show that it was for the interest of France that England should be revolutionized and converted into a republic.†

The sheriff, named Bethal by the French minister, was the Whig sheriff Bethell, who, with his Whig colleague Cornish, so long succeeded in returning popular juries, and in thus thwarting the Court and the Tories. [See *Memoir of William Lord Russell*.] When determined Tories had been despotically thrust by the king into the places of Bethell and Cornish, and when Tory juries had been made sure of, the Rye House Plot was announced. In consequence of revelations made

* Correspondence and Accounts as published by Sir John Dalrymple in 'Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland,' 4to. Lond. 1773.

† Id. Id.

by the infamous Lord Howard of Escrick, Sidney was thrown into the Tower a few days after Russell. But for the republican enthusiasm and credulity of Sidney this traitor would never have been admitted (as he indisputably was) to the secret conferences of the patriots. Among other matter Howard of Escrick deposed that Sidney had undertaken to manage a treasonable correspondence with the fugitive Earl of Argyle and the disaffected Whigs and Cameronians in Scotland, and had sent one Aaron Smith into Scotland, after having given him 60 guineas. Another traitor to the patriots—a lawyer, named West, who increased the number and swelled the size of his depositions just as the Court party wished—swore that Colonel Algernon Sidney had held a close correspondence with the rebellious Scots, and had been present in secret conclaves in London, wherein it was resolved to shoot the king, &c.

Both in the council-chamber, into which he was brought to be examined, and in his dungeon in the Tower, Sidney displayed a sort of Roman fortitude and taciturnity. He told the king and his ministers that he would not answer their ensnaring questions; that they must seek evidence against him from some other man.

Russell was tried on the 13th and executed on the 21st of July [1683]. Sidney was not put upon his trial until four months later. He was brought up to the bar of the King's Bench to plead, on the 7th of November, and his trial took place on the 21st, before Sir George Jeffreys, lately promoted to the place of Lord Chief Justice. Jeffreys exhibited little of his wonted coarseness and passion on this occasion; but his demeanour was very determined and inflexible, and he bore down every objection of the prisoner with an authority that nothing could shake or impress. The only evidence produced in court in support of the principal facts charged was Lord Howard of Escrick, who had, according to his own account, been a party to the plot, and now came to swear away the lives of his associates in order to save his own; and as the law of high treason required two witnesses to prove the crime, the other was

supplied by bringing forward a manuscript found among Sidney's papers, and asserted, no doubt with truth, to be his hand-writing, which, it was pretended, contained an avowal and defence of principles the same, or of the same nature, with those involved in the alleged plot. There was a fearlessness, a noble pride in the demeanour of the prisoner. When asked whether he would put any questions to the witness, Lord Howard, he replied with withering scorn, "No! I have no questions to ask such as he!" At a subsequent part of the trial, he asked the jury whether any credit was due to such a man as my Lord Howard, who had betrayed and cozened his friends, who deposed differently now from what he had deposed on the trial of Lord Russell; who had denied the plot before his arrest, and who had said since that he could not get his pardon from the king till he had "done some other jobs"—"*until the drudgery of swearing was over.*" "Besides," added Sidney, "this Howard is my debtor for a considerable sum; his mortgage was forfeit to me; and when I should have taken the advantage the law gave me, he found a way to have me laid up in the Tower! His lordship is a very subtle man; for as, at Lord Russell's trial, he said he was to carry his knife between the paring and the apple, so for this he has so managed as to get his pardon and save his estate." Nor was he unprovided with witnesses of name and station to assist him in making good his charges against the miscreant. These witnesses were, two of Howard of Escrick's own relatives, Mr. Philip and Mr. Edward Howard, the Earl of Anglesey, Lord Clare, Lord Paget, Monsieur du Cas, a Frenchman, and Doctor Gilbert Burnet, the historian. Sidney, however, as was to be expected under all the circumstances, was found guilty; and being again brought up on the 26th, was sentenced to be put to death after the revolting manner of execution then enjoined by law in cases of high treason. Upon hearing this sentence, he said with a loud firm voice,—“Then, O God! O God! I beseech thee to sanctify my sufferings, and impute not my blood to the country or the city. Let no inquisition

be made for it; but if at any day the shedding of blood that is innocent must be revenged, let the weight of it fall only on those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness sake." The chief justice thought himself obliged to put up his prayer also, which he did in these words:—"I pray God to work in you a temper fit to go unto the other world, for I see you are not fit for this." "My Lord," replied Sidney, stretching out his arm, "feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God I never was in better temper than I am now." He twice petitioned the king for pardon; but all that could be obtained for him was the remission of the degrading and brutal parts of his sentence; and on Friday, the 7th of December, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. No one ever suffered with more firmness or with less parade. He did not even address the people; but when asked to speak, replied that he had made his peace with God, and had nothing to say to man. A paper which he delivered to the sheriff, and which was afterwards printed, concluded as follows:—"The Lord sanctify these my sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a sacrifice unto idols, suffer not idolatry to be established in this land. . . . Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy mercies, and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy truth, and, even by the confession of my very opposers, for that old cause, in which I was from my youth engaged, and for which thou hast often and wonderfully declared thyself." Thus perished one who has generally been considered as the last of the Commonwealth men.

The trial and condemnation of Algernon Sidney seem to have shocked the public feeling of the time in no ordinary degree. Even the cautious Evelyn, after stating that he was executed "on the single witness of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sidney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved, nor the time when, but appearing to have been written before his majesty's restoration, and then pardoned by the Act of Oblivion," adds, that "though Mr. Sidney was known

to be a person obstinately averse to government by a monarch (the subject of the paper was in answer to one of Sir E. [R. ?] Filmer), yet it was thought he had very hard measure." He describes Sidney as "a man of great courage, great sense, great parts, which he showed both at his trial and death;" and he appears to have been looked upon universally in the same light—by his friends as one of the ablest, by his enemies as one of the most dangerous, of his party. While he was yet in exile, Charles himself, in 1670, described him to Colbert, the French minister, as one who could not be too far from England, where his pernicious sentiments, supported with so great parts and courage, might do much hurt. Indeed, with the exception of Shaftesbury, he was the only person of eminent ability in the particular knot of patriots to which he belonged. Yet he must not be confounded in intellectual, any more than in moral character, with that brilliant and versatile politician. A man of talent and accomplishments he was, but narrow-minded, opinionative, and egotistical, to the point of utter impracticability. Burnet describes him "as a man of most extraordinary courage, a steady man, even to obstinacy, sincere, but of a rough and boisterous temper, that could not bear contradiction, but would give foul language upon it." "He seemed to be a Christian," adds the bishop, "but in a particular form of his own; he thought it was to be like a divine philosophy in the mind; but he was against all public worship and everything that looked like a church. He was stiff to all republican principles, and such an enemy to everything that looked like monarchy, that he set himself in a high opposition against Cromwell when he was made protector. He had studied the history of government in all its branches beyond any man I ever knew."

In an anecdote, which has many times been quoted in his praise, we can see nothing to commend or admire. The story is, that during his residence in France he shot a beautiful horse rather than give or sell it to the king, who greatly admired it; saying that the steed which had been ridden by a free man like himself should never be

mounted by a tyrant like Louis XIV. If this be true, what is there in it but a mad bravado, and an act of cruelty to a noble animal? But we believe it to be a fable. Sidney was too poor at the time to have a costly horse. But if he had had one, and had behaved in the manner described, Louis, assuredly, would have clapped him up in the Bastile, or have turned him out of France.

Sidney's 'Discourses concerning Government' were first published in 1698, with a short preface by John Toland; again in 1704, and a third time in 1751, at the expense of Mr. Thomas Hollis, who prefixed a Life of the Author, and also printed for the first time his 'Apology,' already mentioned. This edition of the works of Algernon Sidney was reproduced in 1772 by Mr. Brand Hollis, to whom Mr. Thomas Hollis left his property, with notes and corrections by Mr. J. Robertson, and the addition of some letters and other short pieces of Sidney's, all previously published, together with a tract entitled 'A General View of Government in Europe,' first printed in James Ralph's anonymous publication entitled 'Of the Use and Abuse of Parliaments,' 2 vols. 8vo., Lond., 1744, and there attributed to Sidney, but which Robertson says he is convinced "is the production of a different hand." In fact, there is no doubt that it is spurious. The two editions of 1751 and 1772 both contain 'Letters of the Honourable Algernon Sidney to the Honourable Henry Savile, ambassador in France in the year 1679,' &c., which originally appeared in an octavo volume in 1742. Particulars relating to Algernon will also be found in Arthur Collins's 'Memoirs of the Lives and Actions of the Sidneys,' prefixed to his 'Letters and Memorials of State,' 2 vols. fol., Lond., 1746; and in Blencowe's 'Sidney Papers,' 8vo., Lond., 1825. Collins states that several treatises by Sidney, in Latin and Italian, and also an 'Essay on Virtuous Love,' in English, remain in his own hand-writing at Penshurst. A Life of Algernon Sidney, by George William Meadley, was published in 1813.

Sidney's Trial was printed in 1684, but it is said to

have passed through the hands of Jeffreys, who struck out whatever he pleased. It is given, along with the other trials connected with the Rye House Plot, in Howell's 'State Trials.' The reader may also be referred to 'True Account and Declaration of the horrid Conspiracy against the late King,' &c., written by the time-serving Bishop Sprat, and published by order of James II. in 1685; and 'The Secret History of the Rye House Plot,' by the infamous Ford, Lord Grey, first printed in 1754.

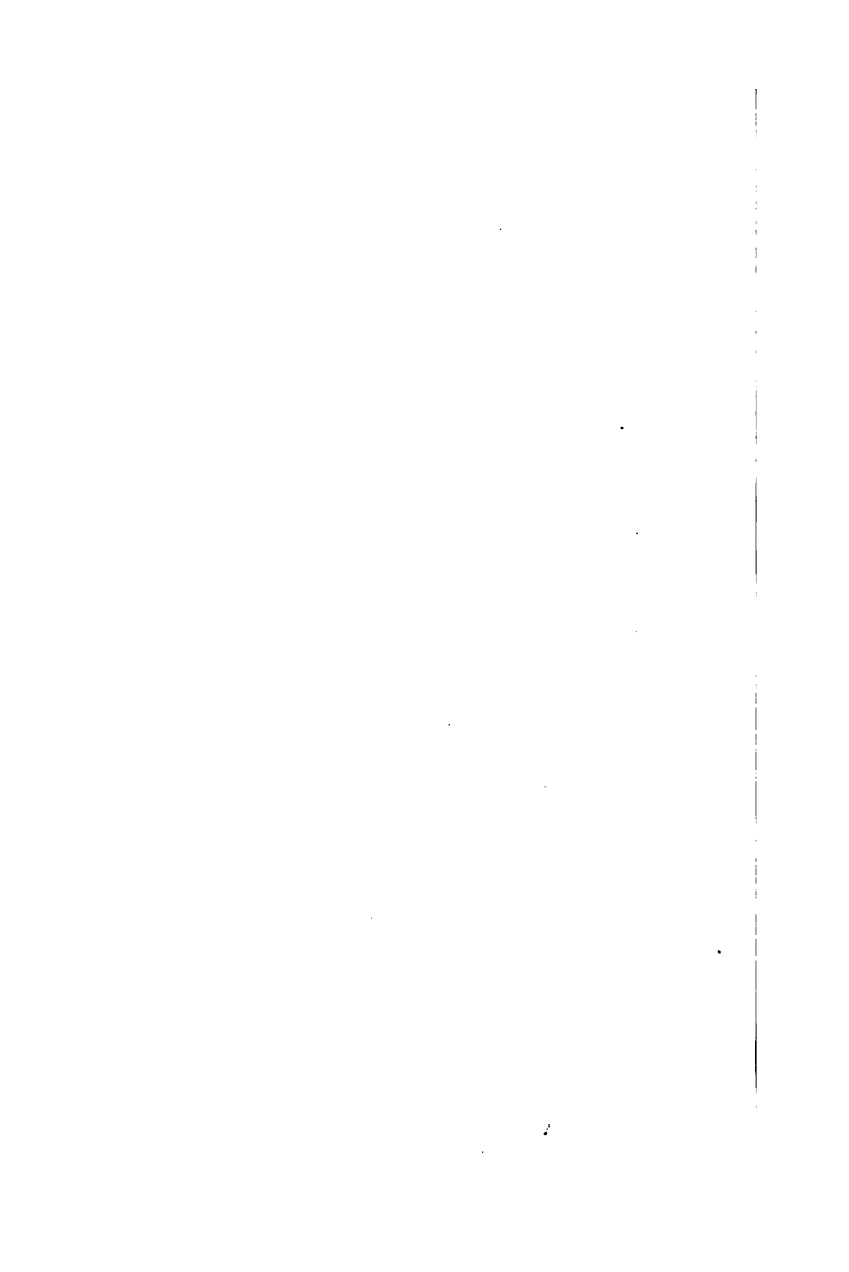
The attainder of Algernon Sidney was reversed after the revolution of 1688. It is observable that neither in this act of parliament nor in the act passed in the same session reversing the attainder of Lord Russell is there any assertion of the innocence of the convicted party. And Mr. Hallam observes that the common accusation against the court in Sidney's trial, "of having admitted insufficient proof by the mere comparison of hand-writing, though alleged not only in most of our historians, but in the act of parliament reversing Sidney's attainder, does not appear to be well founded: the testimony to that fact, unless the printed trial is extraordinarily falsified, being such as would be received at present."



It often happens that extraordinary philosophical talent or inventive ingenuity is accompanied with such simplicity of character, such ignorance of mankind or of the world, such facility or carelessness of disposition and temper, or such general incapacity for playing the game, or, if you will, fighting the battle, of life, that the possessor leaves a name which is rather a memento to point out the perils than a monument to emblazon the triumphs of genius. Absorbed in his higher speculations and pursuits, he is indifferent to the objects and ends which engage the ambition of ordinary men. If he is forced to take part in the universal struggle that is going on around him, his heart and spirit are not there. In all that is strongest, highest, greatest, most real in him, he lives apart, in a world of his own. He has no chance in the common scramble in which his fellows are straining every thew and sinew—he with his whole soul, and mind, and strength elsewhere, and with, as it were, only his left



SIR W. PETTY.



hand at liberty. He is thrown out, very probably thrown down and trampled into the earth.

Very different was the case of the remarkable individual whose history we have now to relate. Endowed in ample measure with many faculties, that which he possessed in the rarest degree of all was the faculty of rising in the world.

Sir William Petty has himself given us an outline of his life on a singular occasion—in the commencement of his will. He there mentions that he was born at Rumsey, or Romsey, in Hampshire, and he afterwards speaks of his father, mother, and grandfather having been all buried in the church there. From other sources we learn that the day he came into the world was Monday the 26th of May, 1623, and that he was the eldest son of Anthony Petty, who, Aubrey the antiquary tells us, “was by profession a clothier, and also did dye his own clothes.” In his will, dated 2nd May, 1685, Petty speaks of the memory of all his brothers and sisters, implying that he had had several and that they were by that time all dead. While still a boy his friend Aubrey, who had much of his information from Petty himself, says that he took great delight in watching the operations of smiths, carpenters, joiners, and other artificers, so that by the time he was twelve years old he had stored up no little mechanical knowledge, and had even acquired considerable practical skill and dexterity in various trades and handicrafts. His education was begun at the free-school of his native place; and he states in his will that at the age of fifteen he “had obtained the Latin, Greek, and French tongues, the whole body of common arithmetic, the practical geometry and astronomy conducing to navigation, dialling, &c., with the knowledge of several mathematical trades.” In the common printed copies of his will—for instance in that prefixed to his *Tracts*, 8vo., Dublin, 1769, and in that given in all the editions of Collins’s *Peerage*, not excepting the latest by Sir Eger-ton Brydges, he is made to intimate that he then went to the university of Oxon (or Oxford). The true word is not *Oxon* but *Caen*. The account given by his friend

Aubrey, in his *Lives*, is as follows:—"He has told me there happened to him the most remarkable accident of life (which he did not tell me), and which was the foundation of all the rest of his greatness and acquiring riches. He informed me that about fifteen, in March, he went over to Caen, in Normandy, in a vessel that went hence, with a little stock, and began to play the merchant, and had so good success, that he maintained himself, and also educated himself: this I guess was that most remarkable *accident* that he meant. Here he learned the French tongue, and perfected himself in Latin, and had Greek enough to serve his turn. At Caen he studied the arts. At eighteen he was, I have heard him say, a better mathematician than he is now; but, when occasion is, he knows how to recur to more mathematical knowledge." This was written in 1680. What Anthony Wood tells us, in the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, is to the same effect, and is indeed in all probability abridged from the above statement of Aubrey's. Petty himself goes on to say that his knowledge of mathematics and of practical mechanics, and his having been at the University of Caen, prepared him for the king's navy. Aubrey relates that he was first bound apprentice to a sea-captain, by whom he was once drubbed with a cord for failing to discover a landmark—a steeple upon the coast—which he was sent aloft to look for—a circumstance which for the first time showed him that he was purblind, or short-sighted. While he was still in the navy, Petty tells us himself, he had at the age of twenty years gotten up (or saved) about threescore pounds, with as much mathematics as any of his age was known to have had. He speaks of his mathematics, we see, as if it was so much additional money capital. And indeed, although he may have loved, and probably did love, knowledge for its own sake, he never forgot its value as a means or instrument. And both the arithmetical or calculating character and the acquisitive turn of his mind inclined him to the habit of estimating its value in that respect in figures and by the standard of the pocket. Instead of saying with Lord Bacon that knowledge was power, he would have said,

if he had spoken out, that knowledge was pounds, shillings, and pence—which indeed constitute perhaps in this world the most universally felt and the best understood species of power. He was all for the practical in all things, and generally for the pecuniary as the most comprehensive form of the practical.

His merit, however, in his proper line was as great as that of any man who has ever been the architect of his own fortunes. There is no trace of his having ever received any assistance from his father, who was probably in poor circumstances, and who at his death in 1644 left him, Aubrey assures us, little or nothing. Nor does any other relation appear to have helped him after he got through his boyhood. "With this provision," he proceeds in his own narrative, that is to say, with his sixty pounds sterling and his mathematics—"anno 1643, when the civil wars between the king and parliament grew hot, I went into the Netherlands and France for three years, and, having vigorously followed my studies, especially that of medicine, at Utrecht, Leyden, and Amsterdam, and Paris, I returned to Romsey, where I was born, bringing back with me my brother Anthony, whom I had bred, with about ten pounds more than I had carried out of England." At Paris, Aubrey and Wood tell us he made the acquaintance of his distinguished countryman Hobbes, who had also fled from the civil storm at home, having, with his more experienced prescience, and perhaps greater timidity or caution of temper, been a little before Petty in effecting his retreat—for he did not wait till the war grew hot, but made off with himself soon after the Long Parliament commenced its sittings in November, 1642. Petty and Hobbes, whose quick intellectual sympathy immediately discerned the remarkable capacity of his young friend, and who loved his company, read together the *Anatomy of Vesalius*; and Petty also drew the schemes or diagrams required by Hobbes for a tract he was writing on *Optics*. How he maintained himself (and, as it would appear, his brother also) at this time is not known. Ward's conjecture, in his *Lives of the Professors of*

Gresham College, which has been copied in the *Biographia Britannica* and other later accounts, that he employed himself in some sort of traffic, rests on no sufficient evidence or authority. He told Aubrey that during this residence in Paris he was at one time driven to so great a strait for money, that he lived a week on two pennyworth of walnuts—"or three," says the conscientious antiquary, "I have forgotten which, but I should think the former." "Query," adds Aubrey, "whether he was not some time a prisoner there?"

By his own account, as quoted above, he would appear to have returned to England about the end of the year 1645. The next notice we have of him, and the first fact in what may be called his public history, is, that on the 6th of March, 1647, a patent was granted him by the parliament for seventeen years to teach what is called his art of double writing. The instrument by which this was performed was of the nature of what would now be called a copying machine, and its uses are expounded in the following terms in a tract which Petty published the next year, 1648, entitled 'Advice to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some particular parts of Learning:—"There is invented an instrument of small bulk and price, easily made and very durable, whereby any man, even at the first sight and handling, may write two resembling copies of the same thing at once, as serviceably and as fast (allowing two lines upon each page for setting the instrument) as by the ordinary way; of what nature or in what character or what matter soever, as paper, parchment, a book, &c. the said writing, &c. ought to be made upon. The use hereof will be very great to lawyers and scriveners, for making of indentures and all kind of counterparts; to merchants, intelligencers, registers, secretaries, clerks, &c.; for copying of letters, accounts, invoices, entering of warrants, and other records; to scholars, for transcribing of rare manuscripts, and preserving originals from falsification and other injuries of time. It lessens the labour of examination, serveth to discover forgeries and surreptitious copies, and to the transacting of all businesses of writing,

as with ease and speed, so with privacy also." The contrivance appears to have been a mechanical combination by which two connected pens were moved at the same time and by the same action of the hand. But it proved a failure; for in practice the greater weight and cumbersome-ness of the double pen were found to be more than a compensation for its multiplying powers.

It probably, however, had the effect of bringing the inventor into notice; and he would be made further known in other quarters, we may suppose, by his tract on the Advancement of Learning, published the following year. This was a quarto pamphlet of about thirty pages; and Hartlib, to whom it was addressed, was the same person to whom Milton had also addressed his letter or tractate entitled "Of Education," published four years before. Petty's discourse, indeed, as well as Milton's, was mainly an exposition of an educational plan or system; Aubrey calls it his 'Advice concerning the Education of Youth.'

We will select some of his proposals from an abstract of the work given in the *Biographia Britannica*, as at least curiously illustrating the character of his mind, whatever may be thought of their real expediency or practicability. The subjects to which he principally directs his attention are Mathematics, Physics, and the History of Art and Nature. He proposes, in the first place, that there should be appointed able readers of all books on these subjects; that every book should be read by two several persons apart; and that out of all the books one great book should be made, containing everything valuable in them properly arranged and furnished with convenient indexes. The first of his special proposals for the education of youth is, that there be instituted *Ergastula Literaria*, or literary workhouses, where children may be taught to do something towards their living, as well as to read and write. This is exactly the idea of our modern Schools of Industry. He would have all the children in the kingdom trained according to this kind of education from the age of seven years, no fees being demanded from those whose parents

were too poor to afford them. If the latter cannot gain their whole living by their labour, let them, he says, remain somewhat the longer in the workhouse. The fourth proposal is as follows:—"That, since few children have need of reading before they know or can be acquainted with the things they read of, or of writing before their thoughts are worth the recording or they are able to put them into any form (which we call inditing), much less of learning languages when there are books enough for their present use in their own mother tongue, our opinion is, that these things, being withal somewhat above their capacity, as being to be attained by judgment, which is the weakest in children, be deferred a while, and others more needful for them, such as are in the order of nature before these above mentioned, and are attainable by the help of memory, which is either most strong or unpreoccupied in children, be studied before them. We wish, therefore, that the educands be taught to observe and remember all sensible objects and actions, whether they be natural or artificial, which the educators must upon all occasions expound unto them." In subsequent articles it is proposed that they should be habituated to such exercises as conduce to health, strength, and agility of body; that they should be taught to read by much more compendious methods than those in common use, which, it is observed, is a thing certainly very easy and feasible; that, besides writing in the common way, they should be taught to write swiftly, and in *real* characters, "as likewise the dexterous use of the instrument for writing many copies of the same thing at once;" that it may be considered whether they should not also be taught the artificial memory; "that in no case the art of drawing and designing be omitted, to what course of life soever these children are to be applied; since the use thereof for expressing the conceptions of the mind seems to be little inferior to that of writing, and in many cases performs what by words is impossible;" that the elements of arithmetic and geometry be studied by all; "that such as shall have need to learn foreign lan-

guages (the use whereof would be much lessened were the *real* and *common* characters brought into practice) may be taught them by incomparably more easy ways than are now usual;" that such as have any natural ability for music be instructed in that art. The fifteenth and last proposal is, "that all children, though of the highest rank, be taught some genteel manufacture in their minority, such as these—turning of curious figures, making mathematical instruments, dials, and how to use them in astronomical observations; making watches and other trochilic motions; limning, and painting on glass or in oil-colours; graving, etching, carving, embossing, and moulding in sundry matters; the lapidary's art in knowing, cutting, and setting jewels; grinding of glasses, dioptrical and catoptrical; botanies and gardening; making musical instruments; navarchy, and making models for building and rigging of ships; architecture, and making models for houses; the confectioner's, perfumer's, or dyer's arts; chemistry, refining metals, and counterfeiting jewels; anatomy, making skeletons, and excarnating bowels; making mariner's compasses, globes, and other magnetic devices." Another part of the scheme is, that there should be erected a *Gymnasium Mechanicum*, or College of Tradesmen, wherein one workman at least of every trade, the most ingenious and most diligent that could be found, should be allowed a handsome dwelling rent-free; and that within the walls of this college, the design of which is the advancement of all mechanical arts and manufactures, there should be a *Nosocomium Academicum*, or institution for the treatment of diseases, according to the most exact and perfect idea thereof; a complete *Theatrum Botanicum*, or Botanic Garden, with stalls and cages for all strange beasts and birds, and ponds and conservatories for all exotic fishes—in other words, what we now call a Zoological Garden. And, characteristically enough, the concluding part of the scheme is a proposal for the compilation of a work, to be entitled *Vellus Aureum, sive Facultatum Lucriferarum Descriptio Magna* (the Golden Fleece, or great Description of the Money-

making Faculties); "wherein all the practised ways of getting a subsistence, and whereby men raise their fortunes, may be at large declared." Thus we have the favourite *Luciferous* experimenting of Bacon improved by the slightest possible change. In Petty's notion the *Luciferous* was the true *Luciferous*.

The scheme, however, taken altogether, is a very remarkable conception for a young man of four or five and twenty, and evinces a decided capacity and habit both of ingenious and independent thinking. Some of his suggestions have the appearance of shooting far beyond what we should imagine to have been the spirit and ordinary intelligence of that time, of anticipating what we are accustomed to consider the newest of our modern ideas, and sometimes almost of transcending the most extreme point to which discovery or speculation in this field has been carried by any projector of the present day. But perhaps we are somewhat apt to deceive ourselves by over-rating our superiority over our ancestors here. In many respects both the theory and the practice of education seem to have been fully as well understood in this and other countries of Europe two or even three centuries ago as they are now. In the art of teaching languages, at least, the schoolmasters of the seventeenth, and even of the sixteenth century, certainly in general far excelled their successors; and some of the wisest and most effective of the improved plans that are now coming into use are only their methods revived. Such, for instance, are literal interlineary translations—the precedence given to the vocabulary over the grammar—the teaching of the foreign tongue (as nature teaches every tongue, and much more speedily and more perfectly than art ever succeeds in doing) by the ear rather than by the eye, and by means of things rather than of books.

Petty makes no mention in his own narrative either of his multiplying pen or of his pamphlet; indeed, that account is for the most part confined to a detail of the progress of his pecuniary circumstances. He is stated to have entered himself a student at Brazennose College, Oxford, at the time the loyalists were ejected from the

university by the parliamentary visitors, which was in April, 1648. He was created a Doctor of Physic on the 7th of March, 1649. In his own account, after noticing his return to England with ten pounds more than he had carried abroad, he proceeds:—"With this seventy pounds and by endeavours, in less than four years more I obtained my degree of M.D. in Oxford, and forthwith thereupon to be admitted into the College of Physicians, London; and into several clubs of the virtuous; after all which expenses defrayed, I had left twenty-eight pounds; and in the next two years, being made Fellow of Brazennose, and Anatomy Professor in Oxford, and also Reader at Gresham College, I advanced my said stock to about 400*l.*, and, with 100*l.* more advanced and given me to go for Ireland, unto full 500*l.*" It is said to have been on a parliamentary recommendation that he obtained his Fellowship. The date of his admission to the College of Physicians is given as the 25th of June, 1650. He had before this been made deputy to Doctor Thomas Clayton, the Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, who laboured under a singular disqualification for the office he held, having, it seems, an insurmountable aversion to the sight of a mangled corpse. It was while he occupied this situation that Petty was principally instrumental in bringing about the revival of Anne Green, who was hanged at Oxford on the 14th of December, 1650, perhaps the most extraordinary instance of the restoration of suspended animation on record. She had not only been hanged by the neck for nearly half an hour, but both during that time and after she was taken down she had been subjected to all sorts of rough and violent usage by her friends with the view of putting her out of pain, and extinguishing any possible remains of life. Yet she perfectly recovered. "I myself," says Derham, in his *Physico-Theology*, "saw her many years after that. She had, I heard, borne divers children." At last Doctor Clayton resigned; and on the 1st of January, 1651, Petty became Anatomical Professor. On the 7th of February in the same year he succeeded Dr. Knight in the Professorship of Music in Gresham

College, an appointment for which he is said to have been mainly indebted to the interest of his friend Captain John Graunt, well known for his attention to political arithmetic, and for his 'Observations upon the Bills of Mortality,' which were published ten years after this time, and in which he was assisted by Petty.* By the *virtuous*, into several of whose clubs he tells us he was admitted, Petty means only what we should now call the *Virtuosi*. He was one of the members of the Oxford branch of the association, originally formed in London about the year 1645, out of which eventually rose the Royal Society. The Oxford philosophers joined their London friends whenever any of them happened to be in the metropolis; but they had also their own regular meetings, which appear to have commenced about 1649 or 1650, when Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Wallis, and other leading members of the original London body were removed to appointments in the University. At Oxford they were joined by Dr. Seth Ward, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, and Dr. Thomas Willis, as well as by Petty; and it is recorded that they met at first in Dr. Petty's lodgings, which were in the house of an apothecary, for the convenience of obtaining such drugs or chemical substances as they might have occasion to use or inspect. Petty appears to have continued to reside principally at Oxford so long as he remained in England.

In the latter part of the year 1652, however, he was appointed Physician to the army in Ireland; and, taking his departure for that country, he landed at Waterford on the 10th of September. This post he retained till June, 1659, at a salary of twenty shillings a day, while he gained by his practice 400*l.* a year more. About September, 1654, perceiving, he tells us, that the admeasurement of the lands forfeited by the late rebellion was most

* Burnet (in his *Own Times*, i. 231) goes the length of asserting that the Observations were written by Petty, and published by him under the name of Graunt, who, it seems, was a Papist, and is suspected by the bishop to have had some hand in the Great Fire of 1666.

insufficiently and absurdly managed, he obtained a contract, dated 11th December, 1654, for performing the said admeasurement, by which he gained above 9000*l.*; "which," he adds, "with the 500*l.* above mentioned, my salary of 20*s.* per diem, the benefit of my practice, together with 600*l.* given me for directing an after-survey of the adventurers' land, and 800*l.* more for two years' salary as Clerk of the Council, raised me an estate of about 13,000*l.* in ready and real money, at a time when, without art, interest, or authority, men bought as much land for ten shillings in real money as in this year, 1685, yields ten shillings per annum rent above his majesty's quit-rents." With part of this money he bought soldiers' debentures, with the produce of which he afterwards bought lands in Ireland that produced him a rental, Aubrey says, of 18,000*l.* a year, of the greater part of which however he was deprived after the Restoration by the Court of Nocents, or Innocents, which found that many of the persons to whom the lands had originally belonged had not taken part in the rebellion of 1641, and consequently that the lands were not forfeited. Petty, we suppose, would get back his purchase-money; but that would be a scanty compensation. And possibly even that might be withheld, on the plea that he had no claim except against the defunct illegal government. With another portion of his 13,000*l.* he bought the Earl of Arundel's house and garden in Lothbury, London, and erected upon their site the buildings forming Tokenhouse-yard, which however were for the most part destroyed some years afterwards by the Great Fire. It was Henry Cromwell who gave him his place of Clerk of the Council in 1657, having already on his first coming over as Lord-Lieutenant, two years before, made him his secretary.

He returned to England early in 1659. It is affirmed to have been again by the interest of his friend the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland that he was returned for the borough of West Looe, in Cornwall, to the parliament called by Richard Cromwell, which met on the 27th of January in that year. He had not yet taken his seat when, on the

25th of March, six articles of impeachment were exhibited against him by Sir Hierome Sankey, member for Woodstock, for his proceedings in connexion with the distribution and allotment of Irish forfeited lands; upon which he was summoned to attend the House that day month. He made his appearance on the 19th of April, and the charges were discussed on the 21st; but, the parliament being suddenly dissolved on the day following, no decision was come to. In a letter to Thurloe, then principal secretary of state, dated the 11th of April, Henry Cromwell writes in terms which strongly show how high Petty stood in his regard. "I have heretofore," he says, "told you my thoughts of Dr. Petty, and am still of the same opinion; and, if Sir Hierome Sankey do not run him down with numbers and noise of adventurers, and such other like concerned persons, I believe the parliament will find him as I have represented. He has curiously deceived me these four years if he be a knave." Aubrey affirms that Petty and Sankey, whom he calls one of Oliver's knights, and who, he says, was wont to preach at Dublin, "printed one against the other;" and Petty did publish a folio pamphlet in 1659, entitled 'A Brief of Proceedings between Sir Hierome Sankey and the author, with the State of the Controversy between them;' and another in 1660, in octavo, entitled 'Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland, by Letter to and from Dr. Petty; with Sir Hierome Sankey's Speech in Parliament.' Aubrey adds—"The knight had been a soldier, and challenged Sir William to fight with him. Sir William is extremely short-sighted, and, being the challengee, it belonged to him to nominate place and weapon. He nominates, for the place, a dark cellar, and the weapon to be a great carpenter's axe. This turned the knight's challenge into ridicule, and so it came to nought." The breaking up of the parliament, however, did not save Petty. He returned to Ireland immediately; but, notwithstanding the continued friendship and protection of the Lord-Lieutenant, steps were taken to prosecute him by the English government, and he was removed

from all his public employments. The Restoration, however, came before anything could be done; and Petty hastened to make friends with the new government, which he seems to have had no difficulty in doing, although he had figured as one of the members of Harrington's republican Rota Club, which had continued to meet at Miles's Coffee-House, in New Palace Yard, down to so recent a date as the 21st of February in this same year. But Petty, who had come over again to England in the latter part of 1659, had returned to Ireland soon after Christmas, and he was still there when the Restoration took place. Aubrey says, that, when he soon after came back to England, "he was presently received into good grace with his majesty, who was mightily pleased with his discourse." Having resigned his professorship in Gresham College on the 8th of March, 1661, he was on the 19th of the same month made one of the commissioners of the Court of Claims relating to the Irish estates; and on the 11th of April he received the honour of knighthood, together with the grant of a new patent constituting him Surveyor-General for Ireland. Aubrey even affirms that he received a patent creating him an Irish peer by the title of Earl of Kilmore; "which," it is added, "he stifles during his life to avoid envy, but his son will have the benefit of the precedence." This, however, is perhaps only a dream of the gossiping antiquary; who subjoins, in a note written after Petty's death, "I expected that his son would have broken out a lord or earl, but it seems that he had enemies at the court at Dublin, which out of envy obstructed the passing of his patent."

Although he was not made a peer, however, Petty was made a member of parliament, being returned this same year to the Irish House of Commons for the borough of Eniscorthy. All the forfeited lands in Ireland of which he had been possessed on the 7th of May, 1659, were confirmed to him by the Act of Settlement passed in 1662. Upon the foundation of the Royal Society in July, 1662, he was elected one of the first council; and when the College of Physicians obtained its new charter

the following year, his name was published in the list of the Fellows, although he had now left off practice. It was soon after this date that he first produced his famous invention of a double-bottomed ship to sail against wind and tide, which in July, 1664, made a successful passage from Dublin to Holyhead and back again, but was lost in a violent storm on a third attempt to cross the Irish Sea. The idea continued to occupy him for some years; but he was obliged to admit at last that he could make nothing of it. It appears, in fact, that although the new species of ship performed wonders against wind and tide, before the wind it refused to move at all. Such is stated to have been *one* of its defects—as if more would not have been superfluous.

In 1667, on Trinity Sunday, Sir William Petty married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, of Castletown, in the county of Limerick, Knight, and widow of Sir Maurice Fenton, Bart., described by Aubrey as “a very beautiful and ingenious lady, brown, with glorious eyes.” He afterwards, he tells us, set up iron-works and pilchard-fishing in Kerry, and opened the lead-mines and timber-trade in the same county; by all which operations, together with some advantageous bargains, and by living under his income, he in course of time greatly increased his fortune.

It was during the remaining portion of his life that most of his literary performances were published, and probably for the greater part executed. Though none of them are of great magnitude, their number is considerable. The principal are—‘*A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*,’ 4to., London, 1662, 1667, 1685, 1690 (for the first time with the author’s name), and 1769; a Latin Hexameter Poem entitled ‘*Colloquium Davidis cum anima sua De Magnalibus Dei*’ (a paraphrase of the 104th Psalm), folio, London, 1679, under the name of *Cassid. Aureus Minutius*; ‘*Quantulumcunque, concerning Money*,’ 4to., 1682; ‘*An Essay in Political Arithmetic concerning the Growth of the City of London*,’ 8vo., London, 1682, 1686, and 1769; ‘*Observations upon the Dublin Bills of Mortality in 1681, and*

the State of that City,' 8vo., London, 1683, 1686, and 1769; 'Maps of Ireland,' folio, 1685; 'Two Essays in Political Arithmetic, concerning the People, Housing, Hospitals, &c. of London and Paris,' 8vo., London, 1687; 'Five Essays in Political Arithmetic,' 8vo., London, 1687. He also contributed several papers to the Philosophical Transactions. And among other works of his writing not published till after his death were, 'Political Arithmetic, or a Discourse concerning the Extent and Value of Lands, People, Buildings, &c., as the same relates to every Country in general, but more particularly to the Territories of his Majesty of Great Britain, and his Neighbours of Holland, Zealand, and France,' 8vo., 1690, 1755, and 1769; 'The Political Anatomy of Ireland,' 8vo., London, 1691, 1719, and 1769 (in which two latter editions it is entitled 'A Political Survey of Ireland'); and 'Verbum Sapienti, or An Account of the Wealth and Expense of England,' drawn up in 1666, and printed along with the last in all the editions.

Petty's *Quantulumcunque*, where he ventures into the region of what is now called Political Economy, contains some ingenious and sound remarks, but it does not show that he had seen much farther into the true nature of money than his contemporaries. His reputation is not so much that of a political economist as of a political arithmetician. By Political Arithmetic is meant that subdivision of Political Economy which is occupied with the calculation of the mere numerical results of the powers and principles that regulate the progress of society. It comprehends what we now call Statistics, but only as its substratum or basis, or as furnishing the data for its operations and conclusions, which have for the most part a reference rather to the future than to the present. Even in this field Petty must be considered as rather an ingenious than a very wise or profound speculator. But his views are sometimes curious and interesting from their very boldness, not to say extravagance and absurdity. One of his most remarkable tracts is his 'Essay in Political Economy concerning the Growth of the City

of London,' first published, as has been stated above, in 1682. It is the more interesting inasmuch as some of the principal predictions hazarded in it refer to almost the present time.

By the city of London, the author begins by stating, he means the old city with the liberties thereof, Westminster, Southwark, and whatever other houses in Middlesex and Surrey are contiguous to or within call of those in any of these divisions of the metropolis proper. More particularly, he includes the 97 parishes within the walls of London, the 16 next without them, the 6 of Westminster, and the 14 outparishes of Middlesex and Surrey; all which 133 parishes are comprehended within the weekly Bills of Mortality.

The population of London at the date of his writing, 1682, he deduces as being about 670,000; and he calculates that it doubles itself in forty years. That of the rest of England and Wales on the other hand he takes at 7,400,000, and conceives that it only doubles itself in three hundred and sixty years. He then proceeds thus:—"Now, if the City double its people in 40 years, and the present number be 670,000, and if the whole territory be 7,400,000, and double in 360 years as aforesaid; then, . . . it appears that anno 1842 the people of the City will be 10,718,880, and those of the whole country but 10,917,389, which is but inconsiderably more. Wherefore it is certain and necessary that the growth of the City must stop before the said year 1842, and will be at its utmost height in the next preceding period, *anno* 1802, when the number of the City will be eight times its present number, namely, 5,359,000; and when, besides the said number, there will be 4,466,000 to perform the tillage, pasturage, and other rural works necessary to be done without the said city."

It does not appear upon what grounds it is so confidently assumed that the growth of the City must necessarily stop so soon as its population becomes equal to that of the country. The remainder of the disquisition is occupied with an examination of the question whether it would be best that the metropolis should be only a

seventh part of its then magnitude or should become seven times greater than it then was.

But first our author indulges in some conjectures as to the causes of the growth of London up to the time of his writing. "The causes," he observes, "of its growth from 1642 to 1682, may be said to have been as followeth; namely, from 1642 to 1650, that men came out of the country to London to shelter themselves from the outrages of the civil wars during that time; from 1650 to 1660, the royal party came to London for their more private and inexpensive living; from 1660 to 1670, the king's friends and party came to receive his favours after his happy restoration; from 1620 to 1680, the frequency of plots and parliaments might bring extraordinary numbers to the City. But what reasons to assign for the like increase from 1604 to 1642 I know not, unless I could pick out some remarkable accident happening in each part of the said period, and make that to be the cause of this increase, as vulgar people make the cause of every man's sickness to be what he did last eat. Wherefore, rather than so to say *quidlibet de quolibet*, I rather quit even what I have above said to be the cause of London's increase from 1642 to 1682, and put the whole upon some natural and spontaneous benefits and advantage that men find by living in great more than in small societies; and shall therefore seek for the antecedent causes of this growth in the consequences of the like, considered in greater characters and proportions." The facts here mentioned may, as Petty himself is not indisposed to admit, have had little to do with the increase of the population of London between 1642 and 1682, but they are still of some historic curiosity and importance, taken simply by themselves as facts resting on contemporary authority. And they have not been adverted to by the professed historians of the time.

The most curious part of the speculation, however, is the exposition of the advantages that would follow from London being seven times greater than it then was. First: it is calculated that such a city, containing 4,690,000

inhabitants, might easily stand upon a space of ground of 10,500 acres, which is about equivalent to a circle of four miles and a half in diameter, and less than fifteen miles in circumference. Then, for the necessary supply of provisions, &c., "a circle of ground of thirty-five miles semi-diameter," we are told, "will bear corn, garden-stuff, fruits, hay, and timber for the 4,690,000 inhabitants of the said city and circle, so as nothing of that kind need be brought from above thirty-five miles' distance from the said city." "All live cattle and great animals," it is added, "can bring themselves to the said city, and fish can be brought from the Land's End and Berwick as easily as now. Of coals there is no doubt. And for water twenty shillings per family, or six hundred thousand pounds per annum in the whole, will serve this city, especially with the help of the New River." It is then proposed that the above-mentioned housing, and a border of ground of three-quarters of a mile broad, should be encompassed with a wall and ditch of twenty miles about, as strong as any in Europe, which, it is calculated, would cost only about a million sterling, or about a penny in the shilling of house-rent for one year; and it is asked, "What foreign prince could bring an army from beyond seas able to beat, first, our sea-forces, and next, with horse harassed at sea, to resist all the fresh horse that England could make, and then conquer above a million of men well united, disciplined, and guarded within such a wall, distant everywhere three-quarters of a mile from the housing to elude the grenadoes and great shot of the enemy?"

But foreign powers are not the only enemies to be provided against. The exposition goes on:—"As to intestine parties and factions, I suppose that 4,690,000 people united within this great city, could easily govern half the said number stationed without it; and that a few men in arms within the said city and wall could also easily govern the rest unarmed, or armed in such a manner as the sovereign shall think fit." It appears, then, to be taken for granted that the inhabitants of the metropolis and the inhabitants of the rest of the

kingdom may be considered as natural enemies, or as constituting two factions permanently opposed to one another, but at the same time each perfectly united within itself. But, perhaps, the strangest part of the scheme is the manner in which it is proposed that it might be made to operate in strengthening the town and weakening the country through the medium of religion. "As to uniformity in religion, I conceive," proceeds our author, "that if St. Martin's parish may (as it doth) consist of about 40,000 souls, that this great city also may as well be made but as one parish, with seven times one hundred and thirty chapels; in which might not only be an uniformity of common prayer, but in preaching also: for that a thousand copies of one judiciously and authentically composed sermon might be every week read in each of the said chapels, without any subsequent repetition of the same as in the case of homilies. Whereas, in England (wherein are near ten thousand parishes, in each of which upon Sundays, holidays, and other extraordinary occasions there should be about one hundred sermons *per annum*, making about a million of sermons *per annum* in the whole), it were a miracle if a million of sermons, composed by so many men, and of so many minds and methods, should produce uniformity upon the discomposed understandings of above eighty millions of hearers." This last number is apparently a misprint: but the meaning of the passage seems to be that, while the people of the City are to be, as it were, compressed into a uniformity of faith by having one and the same sermon preached every Sunday and holiday in all the churches, the inhabitants of the country are to be purposely kept in a state of division and distraction by being exposed to all the diversities and discordance of doctrine that would naturally proceed from ten thousand preachers all left unchecked to utter whatever their own discretion or indiscretion might prompt. Surely nothing equally comical and absurd was ever so gravely proposed before or since. The entire speculation, indeed, it must be confessed, does not raise a very exalted idea of its author as a thinker on such subjects. It is, throughout

more like the speculation of a hermit in his cell, or of a girl in a boarding-school, than that of either a philosopher or a man of large practical faculty. And Petty may perhaps have had, after all, more of the mere dexterity and quickness which go to the making of a fortune than of the deeper sagacity, the comprehensive largeness of view, and the far-reaching prescience which are necessary for either a philosopher or a statesman.

He had no doubt, however, plenty of ready talent of various kinds. "He can be an excellent droll," writes his friend Aubrey, "if he has a mind to it, and will preach extempore incomparably, either the Presbyterian way, Independent, Capucin friar, or Jesuit." And again, "He is a person of an admirable inventive head, and practical parts. He hath told me that he hath read but little, that is to say, not since twenty-five *etatis*, and is of Mr. Hobbes his mind, that, had he read much, as some men have, he had not known so much as he does, nor should have made such discoveries and improvements." But in truth, Petty is not the author of any thing that can be called a discovery in science or the arts. There was considerable resemblance between him and his friend Hobbes in what we may call complexion of intellectual character, however inferior Petty was in literary and philosophical cultivation as well as in original mental power. Both in particular had abundance of that self-confidence which may have been partly innate, but was also strengthened in both by the accident of their having been to a great extent self-educated; for it is evident that so they must in reality have been, notwithstanding the formal attendance of each for some time at the university.

The impression that Petty made in conversation may be gathered from various passages in the Diary of Pepys, to whom he was also well known. "At the coffee-house," Pepys writes under date of the 27th of January, 1664, "where I sat with Sir G. Askew and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear."

Again, under the 18th of February, 1665, we read:—
 “At noon, to the Royal Oak tavern in Lombard Street; where Sir William Petty and the owners of the double-bottomed boat (the Experiment) did entertain my Lord Brouncker, Sir R. Murray, myself, and others, with marrow-bones and a chine of beef of the victuals they have made for this ship; and excellent company and good discourse: but above all I do value Sir William Petty.” Many details about the double-bottomed boat are given by Pepys. One passage is as follows:—
 “1st February, 1664. Thence to Whitehall; where, in the duke’s chamber, the king came and staid an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there about his boat; and at Gresham College in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the king’s objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take odds against the king’s best boats; but the king would not lay, but cried him down with words only.”

We must add Aubrey’s description of Petty’s personal appearance. “He is,” he writes, “a proper handsome man, measured six foot high, good head of brown hair, moderately turning up; *vide* his picture as Doctor of Physic. His eyes are a kind of goose-grey, but very short-sighted, and as to aspect beautiful, and promise sweetness of nature, and they do not deceive, for he is a marvellous good-natured person, and *ευσπλαγχνος* [tender-bowelled]. Eye-brows thick, dark, and straight [horizontal]. His head is very large, *μακροκεφαλός*. He was in his youth slender, but, since these twenty years and more past, he grew very plump, so that now, 1680, he is *abdomine tardus* [heavy-paunched]. This last March, 1679-80, I persuaded him to sit for his picture to Mr. Logan, the graver, whom I forthwith went for myself, and he drew it first before his going into Ireland, and ’t is very like him. But about 1659 he had a picture in miniature drawn by his friend and mine, Mr. Samuel Cowper (prince of limners of his age), one of the likest that ever he drew.”

He went over to Ireland to take his seat in the parliament of that kingdom on the 22nd of March, 1680. This is about the last thing that is recorded of Petty. "He died," Aubrey relates, "at his house in Piccadilly Street, almost opposite to St. James's Church, on Friday, 16th day of December, 1687, of a gangrene in his foot, occasioned by the swelling of the gout." His remains were interred in the church of his native town of Romsey, beside those of his father and mother; they are covered by a flat stone, on which an illiterate workman has cut the words "Here layes Sir William Pety."

He left a large fortune, perhaps the largest that up to that time had ever been accumulated by an individual in England. "He hath told me," says Aubrey, "that he never got by legacies in his life but only ten pounds, which was not paid. He hath told me that, whereas some men have accidentally come into the way of preferment by lying at an inn, and there contracting an acquaintance, on the road, or as some others have done,—for example, my cousin Rowland Platts, whom the Lord Cottington never having seen before, liked so well, that he made him his gentleman of the horse when he went his embassy into Spain (this was on ship-board)—he never had any such opportunity, but hewed out his fortune himself." In the pamphlet which he published in 1660 in his own defence against the charges of Sir Hierome Sankey, under the title of 'Reflections upon some Persons and Things in Ireland,' Petty has entered into some details upon the manner in which his property was acquired which add something to the statement already quoted from his will, with which they may be compared. "In the year 1649," he says, "I proceeded M.D.; after the charges whereof, and my admission into the College of London, I had left about 60*l*. From that time till about August, 1652, by my practice, fellowships at Gresham, and at Brazen-nose, and by my Anatomy Lecture at Oxford, I had made that 60*l*. to be near 500*l*. From August 16, 1652, when I went for Ireland, to December, 1654, when I began the survey and other public entanglements, with 100*l*. advance money, and

365*l.* a year well-paid salary, as also with my practice among the chief in the chief city of the nation, I made my said 500*l.* above 1600*l.* Now the interest of this 1600*l.* for a year in Ireland could not be less than 200*l.*, which, with 550*l.* for another year's salary and practice, namely, until the lands were set out in October, 1655, would have increased my said stock to 2350*l.*; with 2000*l.* whereof I would have bought 8000*l.* in debentures, which would then have purchased me about 15,000 acres of land, namely, as much as I am now accused to have. These 15,000 acres could not yield me less than, at 2*s.* per acre, 1500*l.* per annum, especially receiving the rents of May-day preceding. This year's rent, with 550*l.* for my salary and practice, &c., till December, 1656, would have brought me even then (debentures growing dearer) 6000*l.* in debentures, whereof the five-sevenths then paid would have been about 4000*l.* neat, for which I must have had about 8000 acres more, being as much almost as I conceive is due to me. The rent for 15,000 acres and 8000 acres for three years could not have been less than 7000*l.*, which, with the same three years' salary, namely, 1650*l.*, would have been near 9000*l.* estate in money, above the above-mentioned 1500*l.* per annum in lands. The which, whether it be more or less than what I now have, I leave to all the world to examine and judge. This estate I might have got without ever meddling with surveys, much less with the more fatal distribution of lands after they were surveyed, and without meddling with the clerkship of the council, or being secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant; all which had I been so happy as to have declined, then had I preserved an universal favour and interest with all men, instead of the odium and persecution I now endure." Petty's actual acquisitions, however, came at length far to exceed the amount insinuated in this hypothetical statement. If we may rely upon the account of his friend Aubrey, the lands in Ireland that remained to him in 1680, after he had been forced by the Court of Innocents to relinquish the greater part of what he had once possessed, produced a rental of 7000*l.* or 8000*l.* per

annum, and he could from Mount Mangorto, in the county of Kerry, behold 50,000 acres of his own property.

In his will (made in 1685) Petty states his revenue from property in Ireland without the county of Kerry, in lands, remainders, and reversions, to be then about 3100*l.* per annum; and he adds, "I have of neat profits out of the lands and woods of Kerry, above 1100*l.* per annum, besides iron-works, fishing, and lead-mines, and marble-quarries, worth 600*l.* per annum; in all 4800*l.*" Altogether he makes his real estate to amount to about 6700*l.* per annum. The total of his personal estate he sets down at 46,412*l.*; so that, including what he calls demonstrable improvements of his Irish estates, he considers that he may leave behind him about 15,000*l.* per annum in all. This is after making allowance for a loss of 25,000*l.* upon twice that amount of debts which he calls doubtful, and of 3200*l.* upon 4000*l.* of bad or nearly desperate debts. To his wife he leaves 1587*l.* per annum, with 9000*l.* in money; advising her to spend the whole of her income "on her own entertainments, charity, and munificence, without care of increasing her children's fortunes." To his daughter he leaves in all 20,000*l.*; the rest of his estate he divides for the greater part between his two sons, upon the general principle of making the income of the elder about twice that of the younger. The legacies are few and of inconsiderable amount. "As for legacies for the poor," he says, "I am at a stand; as for beggars by trade and election, I give them nothing; as for impotents by the hand of God, the public ought to maintain them; as for those who have been bred to no calling nor estate, they should be put upon their kindred; as for those who can get no work, the magistrates should cause them to be employed, which may be well done in Ireland, where is fifteen acres of improvable land for every head; prisoners for crimes, by the king; for debts, by their prosecutors; as for those who compassionate the sufferings of any object, let them relieve themselves by relieving such sufferers, that is, give them alms *pro re nata*, and for God's sake relieve those several species above mentioned where the above-men-

tioned obligers fail in their duties: wherefore I am contented that I have assisted all my poor relations, and put many into a way of getting their own bread, and have laboured in public works, and by inventions have sought out real objects of charity; and do hereby conjure all who partake of my estate from time to time to do the same, at their peril. Nevertheless, to answer custom, and to take the surer side, I give 20*l.* to the most wanting of the parish wherein I die." There are no such bequests as according to Pepys had been in a previous will made by Petty. Under date of the 22nd of March, 1665, Pepys notes:—"Sir William Petty did tell me that in good earnest he hath in his will left some part of his estate to him that could invent such and such things. As, among others, that could discover truly the way of milk coming into the breasts of a woman; and he that could invent proper characters to express to another the mixture of relishes and tastes. And says, that to him that invents gold he gives nothing for the philosopher's stone; for, says he, they that find out that will be able to pay themselves. But, says he, by this means it is better than to go to a lecture; for here my executors, that must part with this, will be sure to be well convinced of the invention before they do part with their money." Most probably Petty in making these communications was only playing off some of his drollery upon his temptingly mystifiable friend.

The remainder of the real will is also very characteristic. "As for the education of my children," it continues, "I would that my daughter might marry in Ireland, desiring that such a sum as I have left her might not be carried out of Ireland. I wish that my eldest son may get a gentleman's estate in England, which, by what I have gotten already, intend to purchase, and by what I presume he may have with a wife, may amount to between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.* per annum, and by some office he may get there, together with an ordinary superlucration, may reasonably be expected; so as I may design my youngest son's trade and employment to be the prudent management of our Irish estate for himself and

his elder brother, which I suppose his said brother must consider him for. As for myself, I being now about threescore and two years old, I intend to attend the improvement of my lands in Ireland, and to get in the many debts owing unto me; and to promote the trade of iron, lead, marble, fish, and timber, whereof my estate is capable; and, as for studies and experiments, I think now to confine the same to the anatomy of the people and political arithmetic, as also to the improvement of ships, land-carriages, guns, and pumps, as of most use to mankind, not blaming the studies of other men. As for religion, I die in the profession of that faith and in the practice of such worship as I find established by the law of my country, not being able to believe what I myself please, nor to worship God better than by doing as I would be done unto, and observing the laws of my country, and expressing my love and honour to Almighty God by such signs and tokens as are understood to be such by the people with whom I live, God knowing my heart even without any at all. And thus begging the Divine majesty to make me what he would have me to be both as to faith and good works, I willingly resign my soul into his hands, relying only on his infinite mercy and the merits of my Saviour for my happiness after this life, where I expect to know and see God more clearly than by the study of the Scriptures and his works I have been hitherto able to do. Grant me, O Lord, an easy passage to thyself, that, as I have lived in thy fear, I may be known to die in thy favour. Amen."

By his widow, who survived him about twenty years, dying in February, 1708, Sir William Petty had three sons and a daughter—"very lovely children, but all like the mother," says Aubrey; who moreover adds in a note, "He hath a natural daughter that much resembles him, no legitimate child so much, that acts at the Duke's Playhouse, who hath had a child by . . . about 1679. She is (1680) about twenty-one." Of the three sons, John, the first-born, died in infancy. On the 6th of December, 1688, within a year after the death of her husband, Lady Petty was created Baroness of Shelburne, in the

Irish peerage, for life; and at the same time Petty's eldest son was made Baron of Shelburne, also in the peerage of Ireland, with limitation however to the heirs male of his own body. They were the two last creations made by King James II. before the transference of the crown. Both the new lord and his mother, however, deserted James as soon as he was driven from the throne; their estates were consequently sequestered by the Irish parliament, but they were recovered on the complete establishment of the new government. Lord Shelburne died in 1696 without issue, on which the title became extinct. In 1699 the title was restored by King William to his surviving brother Henry, who in 1719 was further elevated by George I. to the dignities of Viscount Dunkerron and Earl of Shelburne in the peerage of Ireland; but he also died, in April, 1751, without surviving issue—he had lost the last of several sons about six months before—on which the titles again became extinct. Meanwhile his sister Anne had in January, 1692, been married to Thomas Fitzmaurice, twenty-first Baron Kerry, and first Earl of Kerry, by whom, besides William, second Earl of Kerry, she had another son who grew up, John; and to him his uncle the Earl of Shelburne left his estates in the county of Kerry, which are stated to have amounted to above 86,000 acres, or upwards of 135 square miles of English statute measure. This John Fitzmaurice immediately assumed the name of Petty, and was in the same year, 1751, created Baron Dunkerron, Viscount Fitzmaurice, and Earl of Shelburne, in the peerage of Ireland, and in 1760 was made Baron Wycombe, of Chipping Wycombe, in that of England. His eldest son William, Earl of Shelburne, who was one of the most distinguished political figures of the latter part of the last century, was created Viscount Calne, Earl of Wycombe, and Marquess of Lansdowne, in the British peerage, in 1784. The first Marquess of Lansdowne, who died in 1805, was succeeded by his eldest son John, who died without issue in 1809; and he was succeeded by his half-brother

Henry, now Marquess of Lansdowne, who also in 1818 succeeded to the Irish earldom of Kerry, with the ancient Barony of Kerry, dating from the reign of King John, and who is, it appears from this deduction, the great-great-grandson of Sir William Petty.



T. SYDENHAM.



THE celebrated physician, Thomas Sydenham, in many respects the most eminent that England has produced, was born in the year 1624, at Wynford-Eagle, in Dorsetshire, where his father, William Sydenham, enjoyed a considerable estate. The mansion in which he was born is now converted into a farm-house, and stands on the property of Lord Wynford.

In the year 1642, when eighteen, he was admitted as a commoner at Magdalen-Hall, Oxford; but quitted it in the same year, when that city became the headquarters of the royal army, after the battle of Edgehill. He was probably induced to take this step by reasons of a political nature; for we find that his family were active adherents of the opposite party. Indeed he is said, though on doubtful authority, to have held a commission himself under the parliament during his absence from Oxford; and his elder brother, William, is known to

have attained considerable rank in the republican army, and held important commands under the protectorate.

The political bias of his family is not without interest, as affording a probable explanation of some circumstances in his life which would otherwise be rather unaccountable—such as the fact that though he reached the first eminence as a practising physician, he was never employed at court, and was slighted by the college, who invested him with none of their honours, nor even advanced him to the fellowship, though a licentiate of their body, and qualified by the requisite university education.

When Oxford was surrendered to the parliament, in 1646, Sydenham determined to resume his academical studies; and passing through London on his way, he met accidentally with Dr. Thomas Coxe, a physician of some repute at that time, who was attending his brother. The choice of a profession became the subject of a conversation between them, which determined him in favour of medicine; for, in a letter addressed to Dr. Mapleton, thirty years after this time, which forms the preface to one of his writings, he refers with much warmth to this conversation as the origin of his professional zeal, and, consequently, of whatever useful advances he had made in medicine. Thus his success, both in the practice and reformation of his art, may show the advantage of waiting till the faculties are fully matured, before they are exercised in a study which requires independence as well as vigour in thinking: for the circumstances of his family being sufficiently affluent to place him above the necessity of choosing a profession early, he had not turned his attention to physic till of an age at which the medical education is generally almost completed. We are not, however, to believe in the justice of an accusation brought against him, that he had never studied his profession till he began to practise it; for though we do not know what particular line of study he pursued on his return to Oxford, it is clear from many passages in his works that he had studied the writings of the ancient physicians with no common care; and as his own show

no defect of acquaintance with whatever real information had been collected before his time, we may reasonably conclude that this contemporary censure was mistaken or malicious. He certainly held the opinions of his modern predecessors in very little respect, for he does not often mention them, even for the purpose of confutation; and in the letter to Dr. Mapletoft already referred to he says that he had found the best, and, in fact, the only safe guide, through the various perplexities he had met with in his practice, to be the method of actual observation and experiment recommended by Lord Bacon. This sentiment is often repeated in his works; but it surely does not countenance the idea that he had begun to practise without endeavouring to make what preparation he could, or would have had others follow such an example; for the charge against him goes to this length. The notion might arise from a foolish anecdote related by his admirer, Sir Richard Blackmore, of his having recommended Don Quixote as the best introduction he knew to the practice of medicine, which Sydenham must have intended as a jest, or perhaps as a sarcasm on the narrator himself.

At Oxford he formed a close friendship with John Locke, better known afterwards as a philosopher than as a physician. Their intimacy, which lasted to the end of Sydenham's life, probably contributed not a little to give form to the disgust which he soon displayed at the unsatisfactory and fluctuating state of medical opinion, and to the zeal with which he sought to establish it on surer grounds; for he appeals, as to the highest authority, in confirmation of some of his new views on the treatment of fever, to the approval of his illustrious friend, who even paid him the compliment of prefixing a eulogy in indifferent Latin verse to the treatise in which these views are developed.

On the 14th of April, 1648, he took the degree of bachelor of medicine, being then twenty-four years old; and in the same year obtained a fellowship at All Souls College, by the interest of a relation. The degree of doctor he subsequently took at Cambridge, where, being

among those who thought with him in politics, he probably found himself more at his ease. After a visit of some length to Montpellier, then considered the best practical school of medicine on the Continent, he settled in Westminster, and soon after married.

His progress to eminence in his profession must have been unusually rapid, which might be owing, in some measure, to the call for men of good capacity to the more stirring scenes of civil strife; for at thirty-six he had succeeded in establishing a first-rate reputation, which he continued to sustain in spite of much hostility and ill-health for upwards of twenty years.

He witnessed the breaking out of the plague in 1665, but when it reached the house adjoining his own, he was induced to remove with his family some miles out of town. Of this desertion of his post, however, he seems to have repented; for he afterwards returned, and occupied himself diligently in visiting the victims of that devastating malady, and has left a short but interesting account of his opinions respecting it, and of the treatment he adopted; for the comparative success of which, he appeals to the physicians who had witnessed or followed his practice.

At the age of twenty-five, though a man of remarkably temperate and regular habits, he became afflicted with gout and stone, from which he suffered extreme torment with great resignation and patience for the rest of his life. Of course, he did not neglect the opportunity of studying those diseases in his own person, and recording the result of his observations. His account of gout, especially, is considered to be a most accurate and able history of that disease.

He died, leaving a family, at his house in Pall-Mall, on the 29th of December, 1689, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the parish church of St. James, Westminster, where, in 1810, a tablet was erected to his memory by the College of Physicians, who became, as a body, tardily but fully convinced of his extraordinary merit and eminent claims to the gratitude and respect of his profession.

He is said to have been a man of the most retiring and unobtrusive disposition, and the utmost placidity of temper. In a biographical sketch by Dr. Samuel Johnson, prefixed to an English edition of his works by Swan, in 1742, it is remarked, that if he could not teach us in his writings how to cure the painful disorders from which he suffered, he has taught us by his example the nobler art to bear them with serenity. Nor was he less patient of mental than of bodily inflictions; for though he was the object of much asperity among the physicians of his time, he made no reprisals upon the reputations of those who slandered him: though he often speaks of their bitterness, he never even mentions their names—a forbearance to which, as his biographer pungently remarks, they are indebted for their escape from a discreditable immortality. His writings breathe throughout a spirit of warm piety, candour, and benevolence: he is said to have been extremely generous in his dealings with his patients; for which, with other reasons, his practice though large was not very gainful, and he did not leave much wealth behind him. He never was sought after by the great, like his successor and disciple Radcliffe; and had none of the talents by which that singular man was able to push his fortune and establish a kind of professional despotism. Yet whatever medical skill the latter evinced seems to have been derived from Sydenham, whose doctrines and treatment he contrived to bring into a much more early and general repute in England than they would probably have otherwise obtained. Each had his reward: the one will be long remembered as the founder of a magnificent library; the other can never be forgotten as the author of modern medicine.

The bent of Sydenham's mind was eminently practical; he thought that the business of a physician is to acquire an accurate knowledge of the causes and symptoms of diseases, and the effects of different remedies upon them; that, if he cannot prevent them, he may at least recognise them with certainty, and apply with promptitude the means most likely to cure them: with Hippocrates and the ancient empirical physicians, whose

tenets he professed to follow, he condemned all curious speculations upon the intimate nature of disease, as incapable of proof, and therefore always useless and often hurtful; and maintained that the only trustworthy source of opinion in medicine is experience resulting from observations frequently repeated, and experiments cautiously varied; and that no theories worth attention can be framed until the recorded experience of many observers, under many different circumstances, and even through successive ages, shall be embodied into one general system; and he boldly declared his belief that every acute disease might then be cured. An instance, which unfortunately as yet stands alone in support of this rather sanguine expectation, may be taken from the history of small-pox. The observation of its contagious nature led to the general practice of inoculation, and this to the immortal discovery of Jenner, by which a disease but yesterday the scourge of the earth has been almost extinguished. It is remarkable that Sydenham, who first pointed out the important difference between its distinctive and confluent forms—who so materially improved the treatment by changing it from stifling to cooling—and who studied and has described it with a laborious accuracy hardly paralleled in the history of medicine—was not aware of this, to us, its most striking characteristic of contagion. A person conversant with such subjects will feel no surprise at this: to the general reader it may be a sufficient explanation, that it lies dormant for ten days; and that as it can only be taken once, and was always prevalent in London, the number of persons susceptible at any given time, and in obvious communication with each other, were comparatively few; so that opportunities were not so likely to arise as might be imagined of tracing its progress in single families or neighbourhoods from one source of contagion.

Sydenham is justly celebrated for the happiness of his descriptions, and his skilful application of simple methods of cure, which are as effectual as they were novel in that age, when a medical prescription sometimes contained a hundred different substances; but he has merit of a

higher kind, as a discoverer of general laws. Among others, he was the first to notice that there is a uniformity in the fevers prevailing at any one time, which is subject to periodical changes; and that other acute diseases often partake largely of the same general character, and sometimes even merge in it altogether, as the plague is said to have swallowed up all other diseases. This, which he ascribed to some peculiar state of the atmosphere, he called its epidemic constitution; and to be aware of its vicissitudes must of course be very important to the physician as a guide to practice. The value of these laws, which Sydenham deduced from a multitude of observations, has been attested by almost every medical writer since his time.

Sydenham's works have been repeatedly printed in the original Latin, as well as in English and the Continental languages. His first work was published after he had been sixteen years in practice; the last, which he edited himself, is dated three years before his death; and an elegant compendium of his experience was published posthumously by his son. They all appear to have been extorted by the importunity of his friends or the misrepresentations of his enemies. It is said that they were composed in English, and translated into Latin by his friends Mapletoft and Havers: there is, however, little reason for attaching credit to this report, as we are assured, on the authority of Sir Hans Sloane, who knew him well, that Sydenham was an excellent classical scholar, and perfectly capable of expressing himself elegantly in Latin. They are most carefully written and clearly expressed, and bear marks of the utmost truth and impartiality in the narration of facts, and judgment in arranging them. They are not voluminous, as he studiously refrained from overloading them with trivial matter, and from entering into the detail of a greater number of cases than might be sufficient to illustrate his method of practice. His object was to confine himself to the results of his own observation: to this he pretty strictly adhered, so that little space is occupied in his writings by quotations or criticism. It must be admitted that he occasionally

lapses into theoretical discussion, in violation of his own principles; but as he seldom or never permitted his fancy to divert him from what was practically useful, he may be pardoned if, in that age of speculation, he could not entirely resist the seduction. A graver charge against him is, that he overlooked or undervalued the immense body of information to be obtained from examining the effects of diseased actions after death, and devoted himself too exclusively to the study of the symptoms during life, and the effect of remedies upon them. It is hardly a sufficient justification of a man of so much independence of spirit to reply, that such examinations were opposed by the prejudices of the age in which he lived. Others have overcome the same obstacles, and with them many of those difficulties which perplexed and misled even the mind of Sydenham. He had equal or greater difficulties to contend against in the deep-rooted absurdities of the chemical and mechanical schools, which in the early part of his life held an almost equally divided sway in medicine: the former originated with Paracelsus and his disciples, and had the advantage of a longer prescription; and the latter had received a fresh accession of strength from the recent discoveries of Harvey: both, however, gave way before his energetic appeal to fact and experience. Scarcely less credit is due to him for his successful opposition to the popular superstition in favour of a host of futile remedies, which are now happily consigned to oblivion with the family receipt-books and herbals in which their virtues were paraded, than for his victory over false principles and dangerous rules of practice.

On the whole, it may be safely advanced that medicine, as a practical science, owes more to the closely-printed octavo, in which the results of his toilsome exertions are comprised, than to any other single source of information.



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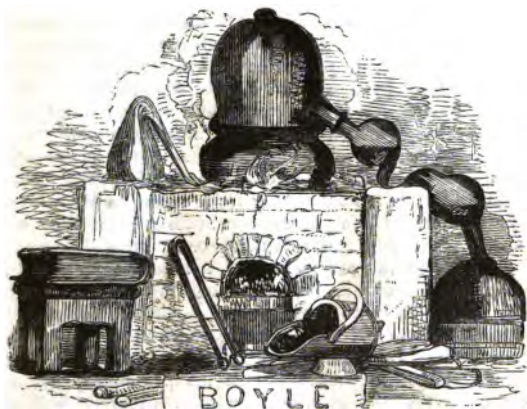
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ROBERT BOYLE.



ROBERT BOYLE was the seventh son of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, and his wife Catherine, only daughter of Sir Geoffry Fenton, secretary of state for Ireland. There were fifteen children of this marriage, and the subject of this memoir (the fourteenth) was born on the 25th of January, 1626, at Lismore, in the province of Munster. His sister Catherine, by marriage Lady Ranelagh, afterwards mentioned, was considerably older, having been born on the 22nd of March, 1614.

The autobiography and correspondence of Robert Boyle have been almost entirely forgotten in the superior fame which he has attained in chemistry and medicine. If we consider the position in which he stands among our philosophers, it will not appear superfluous, having his own words to quote, if we give the account of his earlier years at some length. The narration in question (in which he calls himself Philaretus, and writes in the third person) is prefixed to Dr. Birch's edition of his

works in 5 vols. fol., which we here cite once for all—
'The Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle, in five volumes, to which is prefixed a Life of the Author,' London, printed for A. Millar, 1744. Of his birth and station he says, "that it so suited his inclinations and designs, that, had he been permitted an election, his choice would scarce have altered God's assignment." His father, having "a perfect aversion for their fondness, who use to breed their children so nice and tenderly that a hot sun or a good shower of rain as much endangers them as if they were made of butter or of sugar," committed him to a nurse away from home, under whose care he formed a vigorous constitution. He lost his mother at an early age, this being one "great disaster;" the other was the acquisition of a habit of stuttering, which came upon him from mocking other children. He was taught early to speak both French and Latin, and his studiousness and veracity endeared him to his father, "and indeed lying was a vice both so contrary to his nature, and so inconsistent with his principles, that as there was scarcely anything he more greedily desired than to know the truth, so was there scarcely anything he more perfectly detested than not to speak it; which brings into my mind a foolish story I have heard him jeered with by his sister, my Lady Ranelagh, how she having given strict order to have a fruit-tree preserved for his sister-in-law, the Lady Dungarvan, he accidentally coming into the garden, and ignoring the prohibition, did eat half a score of them, for which being chidden by his sister Ranelagh (for he was yet a child), and being told by way of aggravation that he had eaten half a dozen plums, 'Nay, truly, sister,' answers he simply to her, 'I have eaten half a score.'" At eight years old he was sent to Eton with his elder brother, the provost being Sir Henry Wotton, "a person that was not only a fine gentleman himself, but very well skilled in the art of making others so." Here he was placed under the immediate care of Mr. Harrison, one of the masters, and became immoderately fond of study from "the accidental perusal of Quintus Curtius, which first

made him in love with other than pedantic books." He always declared that he was more indebted to this author than was Alexander, the hero of the work. Two years afterwards, during an attack of the ague, the Romance of Amadis de Gaule was put into his hands "to divert his melancholy," and by this and other such works his habit of persevering study was weakened. He was obliged afterwards systematically to conquer the ill effects of this mental regimen, and "the most effectual way he found to be the extraction of the square and cube roots, and especially those more laborious operations of algebra which so entirely exact the whole man, that the smallest distraction or heedlessness constrains us to renew our trouble, and re-begin the operation." During his abode at Eton several remarkable escapes from imminent peril occurred to him, upon which, in after-life, he looked back with reverential gratitude, and with the full conviction that the direct hand of an overruling Providence was to be traced in them.

His father about the close of the year 1637 came to England, and settled at Stalbridge, in Dorsetshire; and Robert Boyle was soon after removed from Eton to his father's house, and placed under the tuition of the rector of the parish. In the autumn of 1638 he was sent to travel with an elder brother, under the care of M. Marcombes, a Frenchman, of whom he says, with many other encomia, that "if he were given to any vice himself, he was careful by sharply condemning it to render it uninfectious." "The worst quality he had was his choler; and that being the only passion to which Philaretus was much observed to be inclined, his desire to shun clashing with his governor, and his accustomedness to bear the sudden sallies of his impetuous humour, taught our youth so to subdue that passion in himself, that he was soon able to govern it habitually and with ease." It had been intended that he should have served in a troop of horse which his elder brother had raised, but the illness of another brother prevented this. He visited France and Switzerland, and settled with his governor at Geneva, for the prosecution of his studies. The only

incident which we shall mention as occurring during this period, is one which may be thought by many scarcely worthy of notice. Boyle himself used to speak of it as the most considerable accident of his whole life; and for its influence upon his life it ought not to be omitted. While staying at Geneva he was waked in the night by a thunder-storm of remarkable violence. Taken unprepared and startled, it struck him that the day of judgment was at hand; "whereupon," to use his own words, "the consideration of his unpreparedness to welcome it, and the hideousness of being surprised by it in an unfit condition, made him resolve and vow, that if his fears that night were disappointed, all further additions to his life should be more religiously and watchfully employed." He has been spoken of as being a sceptic before this sudden conversion. This does not appear from his own account, further than as any boy of fourteen may be so called, who has never taken the trouble fully to convince himself of those truths which he professes to believe. He carried his theological studies to considerable depth. He cultivated both Hebrew and Greek, though a professed hater of verbal studies, that he might read the originals of the Scriptures. On this subject he remarks in his manuscripts (*Works*, vol. i. pp. 29, 30)—"When I have come into the Jewish schools, and seen those children that were never bred up for more than tradesmen, bred up to speak (what hath been peculiarly called) God's tongue as soon as their mother's, I have blushed to think how many gown-men, that boast themselves to be the true Israelites, are perfect strangers to the language of Canaan; which I would learn were it but to be able to pay God the respect usual from civil inferiors to princes, with whom they are wont to converse in their own languages. And I confess myself to be none of those lazy persons that seem to expect to obtain from God the knowledge of the wonders of his book upon as easy terms as Adam did a wife, by sleeping profoundly, and having her presented to him at his awaking."

In September, 1641, he left Geneva, and travelled in

Italy, where he employed himself in learning the language, and "in the new paradoxes of the great stargazer Galileo, whose ingenious books, perhaps because they could not be so otherwise, were confuted by a decree from Rome; his highness the pope, it seems, presuming, and that justly, that the infallibility of his chair extended equally to determine points in philosophy as in religion, and loath to have the stability of that earth questioned in which he had established his kingdom." Having seen Florence, Rome, and Genoa, he came to Marseilles, and here his own narrative ends. At Marseilles he was detained for want of money, owing to the troubles in England; having, however, procured funds from his governor, he returned to London, where he found (in 1644) his father dead, and himself in possession of the manor of Stalbridge, with other property. At that place he resided till 1650, not taking any part in politics, and being in communication with men of influence in both parties, whereby his property received protection from both. The epistolary correspondence of Boyle is amusing, and furnishes one of the earliest specimens of the lighter style. Considering the formality of the age, and the then existing peculiarities of the English, the extracts we give from a letter to Lady Ranelagh will appear original; while the letter immediately following, written from Boyle, when at Eton to his father (stated in the 'Biog. Brit.' to be taken from the original), will show the manners of the time:—

"My most honoured Lord Father,

"Heartily praying for the continuance of God's favor to your Lordship still in soul and body, I humbly prostrate myself unto your honorable feet, to crave your blessing and pardon for my remissness, in presenting my illiterate lines unto your honorable kind acceptance. Whereas I have been heretofore cloyed with our college exercise, I could not so often visit your Honour in writing; but now being by the ardent desire of our brother, and the licence of Sir Harry Wotton, and our schoolmaster, come to London, where we make four days'

residence, have found opportunity to offer unto your Honour that oblation due unto so good and so noble a father, that is most humble duty: desiring your Honour to pardon him for his brevity, who strives to live after your Lordship's will and commandments.

"London, decimo
4to Martii.

"Truly and obediently,
"ROBERT BOYLE."

Superscribed, "For my dear Lord Father, the Earl of Cork."

The following is a part of his account of his first journey to Stalbridge, written to Lady Ranelagh, March 30, 1646:—

"As we went along, we met divers little parties, with whom we exchanged fears, and found that the malignant humours which were then abroad had frightened the country into a shaking ague, till we got to Farnham, which we found empty and unguarded. With divers contemplations upon this subject, I went to supper, and thence to bed, not without some little fear of having our quarters beaten up by the cavaliers that night; when lo! to second my apprehensions, about the dead of my sleep, and that night, I heard a thundering at the door, as if they meant to fright it out of the hinges and us out of our wits. I presently leaped out of my bed, in my stockings and clothes (my usual night-posture when I travel), and while Roger was lighting a candle, got my Bilboa and other instruments from under my pillow; whereupon Roger opening the door, saw it beset with musketeers, who no sooner saw us, but said aloud that we were not the men they looked for; and being entreated to come into the chamber, refused it, and he that brought them thither excused their troubling us with as transcendent compliments as the brown bill could afford. I wondered at their courtesy till I knew that it was the town constable, that, making a search for some suspicious persons, and coming by my chamber, that wanted a lock, either had a mind to make us take notice of so considerable an officer, or no mind that we should sleep while our betters watched; and for his not coming in, some accents of fear

that fell from him made me suspect I was' obliged for that to myself; and I remember that just at the opening of the door, he, peeping in, espied me drawing a pistol out of one of my holsters, which I believe made him so niggardly of his company. The next day we dined at Winchester, and ever and anon, by the trembling passengers we met, were as nicely catechized concerning our ways, as if we were to be elected in the number of the new lay elders. From thence we reached Salisbury that night, though, before we came thither, we were fain to pass in the dark through a wood, where we had warning given us that about an hundred woodmen (we have got wild English too now) lay leiger, where these night-birds used to exercise their charity, in easing weary travellers of such burthensome things as money and port-manteaus. But coming nearer, and knowing the state's messenger, as he called himself, they durst not meddle neither with us nor with my trunks, which they eyed though very lovingly; and had we not been there, would, I believe, have opened to search for malignant letters, such as use to be about the king's picture in a yellow boy. I am loaded with civil language and fair promises; but I have always observed that in the trooper's dictionary the pages are so close and thick written with promises, that there is no room left for such a word as performance."

From this time to the end of his life he appears to have been engaged in study. His chemical experiments date from 1646. He was one of the first members of the *invisible college*, as he calls it, which has since become the Royal Society. The rest of his public life is little more than the history of his printed works, which are voluminous, and will presently be further specified. He must have written with singular rapidity, for an argumentative and elaborate letter, written, as appears on the face of it, in the morning, previously to making his preparations for a journey in the afternoon, is of a length which would occupy more than a page of this work.

After various journeys to his Irish estates, he settled at Oxford in 1654, where he remained till 1668. That

which especially directed him to this place, besides its being generally suited to the prosecution of all his literary and philosophical pursuits, was the presence of that knot of learned men from whom the Royal Society took its rise. It consisted of a few only, but those eminent: Bishop Wilkins, Wallis, Ward, Wren, and others, who used to meet for the purpose of conferring upon philosophical subjects, and mutually communicating and reasoning on their respective experiments and discoveries. Here his life ('Works,' vol. i.) states him to have invented the air-pump, which is not correct, though he made considerable improvements in it. On the accession of Charles II. in 1660, he was much pressed to enter the church, but refused, both as feeling the want of a sufficient vocation towards that profession, and as desirous to add to his writings in favour of Christianity all the force which could be derived from his fortune not being interested in its defence. From this time forwards, Boyle's life is not much more than the history of his works. It passed in an even current of tranquil happiness, and diligent employment, little broken, except by illness, from which he was a great sufferer. At an early age, he was attacked by the stone, and continued through life subject to paroxysms of that dreadful disease; and in 1670 he was afflicted with a severe paralytic complaint, from which he fortunately recovered without sustaining any mental injury. On the incorporation of the Royal Society in 1663, he was named as one of the council in the charter; and as he had been one of the original members, so through his life he continued to publish his shorter treatises in their Transactions. In 1662 he was appointed by the king Governor of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel in New England. The diffusion of Christianity was a favourite subject of exertion with him through life. For the sole purpose of exerting a more effectual influence in introducing it into India, he became a Director of the East India Company; and, at his own expense, caused the Gospels and Acts to be translated into Malay, and five hundred copies to be printed and sent abroad. He also caused a translation of

the Bible into Irish to be made and published, at an expense of 700*l.*; and bore great part of the expense of a similar undertaking in the Welsh language. To other works of the same sort he was a liberal contributor; and as in speech and writing he was a zealous yet temperate advocate of religion, so he showed his sincerity by a ready extension of his ample funds to all objects which tended to promote the religious welfare of his fellow-creatures.

In 1666 he left Oxford, and took up his abode with Lady Ranelagh, in London. In this year his name appears as attesting the miraculous cures (as they were called by many) of Valentine Greatraks, an Irishman, who, by a sort of animal magnetism, made his own hands the medium of giving many patients almost instantaneous relief. This gentleman, Mr. Greatraks, a man of respectable family, and an Irish magistrate (whose printed letter to Robert Boyle, besides being accompanied by the testimonials of himself and others to facts, is, as far as such a thing can be, evidence of good faith by its style and documents), one day believed himself enabled by the power of God to cure diseases by his touch, and whatever the cause might be, has left sufficient evidence at least of this fact, that after his touch inveterate diseases did shortly leave those who suffered from them. Mr. Greatraks published his letter to Mr. Boyle in 1666, and some remarks written in the fly-leaf of a copy we have seen will make a good *résumé* of the state of the evidence. "In looking over the cases stated in this pamphlet, attested as they are by the most learned and philosophical individuals of that period, it is impossible to deny the existence of the facts as attested, without rejecting *in toto* the evidence of every historical record. Credulity may have distorted and exaggerated the reality, as witnessed by such men even as Boyle, Cudworth, Wilkins, Patrick, &c.; but, doubtless, the facts are essentially true as reported, and as certainly to be accounted for on the principle of mental and physical sympathy, the imagination of the patient being wrought upon by the powerful emotions excited by expectation. Half a hundred works of the

most philosophical and scientific physicians might be cited in confirmation of the astonishing effects of that agitating excitement of the nervous system produced by operating upon the imagination; which perfectly explains all the wonders of animal magnetism." We may add that the phenomena certainly witnessed at the tomb of the Jansenist Abbé Paris were not better attested, and were less extraordinary in degree, than those in question; and that, as we shall see, of all the men of his time, Robert Boyle was peculiarly the one whose opinion it would have been desirable to have. The reputation of Mr. Greatraks extended through the three kingdoms, and Flamsteed, among others (Baily's 'Flamsteed,' p. 12), was among the number of those who went to Ireland to be touched, and calls himself "an eye-witness of several of his cures." He also received benefit himself, but whether from the touch or from subsequent sea-sickness, he is not certain, but judges from both. At the same time, in illustration of what we shall presently have to say on the distinction between Boyle as an eye-witness and Boyle as a judge of evidence, we find him in 1669 not indisposed to receive, and that upon the hypothesis implied in the words, the "true relation of the things which an unclean spirit did and said at Mascon, in Burgundy," &c. That he should have been inclined to prosecute inquiries about the transmutation of metals needs no excuse, considering the state of chemical knowledge in his day; and we find even Newton inclined to fear, from the result of some experiments of Boyle (the results of which only had been stated), and to speak in time, as became one who should afterwards be master of the mint, a word in favour of the currency. In a letter to Oldenburgh, dated 1676, Newton writes thus: "But yet because the way by which mercury may be so impregnated, has been thought fit to be concealed by others that have known it, and may therefore possibly be an inlet to *something more noble, not to be communicated without immense damage to the world, if there should be any verity in the Hermetic writers*; therefore I question not but that the great wisdom of the noble author will

sway him to high silence, till he shall be resolved of what consequence the thing may be, either by his own experience, or the judgment of some other that thoroughly understands what he speaks about; that is, of a true Hermetic philosopher, whose judgment (if there be any such) would be more to be regarded in this point, than that of all the world besides to the contrary, there being other things beside the *transmutation of metals* (if these great pretenders brag not) which none but they understand. Sir, because the author seems desirous of the sense of others in this point, I have been so free as to shoot my bolt; but, pray, keep this letter private to yourself. Your servant, ISAAC NEWTON."

It appears that both Boyle and Newton were startled with the result of the experiments of the former; and the treatment which old believers in alchemy have experienced from the present age will render it no less than just to say, that faith in alchemy now, and the same in the middle of the seventeenth century, are two things so different in kind, that to laugh at both in one shows nothing but the ignorance of the laugher.

In the year 1680 he was elected President of the Royal Society, a post which he declined, as appears by a letter to Hooke ('Works,' i. p. 74), from scruples of conscience about the religious tests and oaths required. In 1688 he advertised the public that some of his manuscripts had been lost or stolen, and others mutilated by accident; and in 1689, finding his health declining, he refused most visits, and set himself to repair the loss. In that year, being still in a sort of expectation that the alchemical project might succeed, he procured the repeal of the statute 5 Hen. IV. "against the multiplying of gold or silver," and, what was still more useful, the same statute contains a provision that "no mine of copper, &c. shall be adjudged a royal mine, although gold or silver may be extracted out of the same." In 1691 his complaints began to assume a more serious character. Lady Ranelagh died on the 23rd of December, and he followed her on the 30th of the same month. He was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields, Jan. 7, 1692, and a funeral

sermon was preached on the occasion by Dr. Burnet, who had long been his friend, and to the expenses of whose history of the Reformation he had largely contributed.

Boyle was never married. In a letter to his niece, Lady Barrymore, on a rumour of the kind, he says, "You have certainly reason, madam, to suspend your belief of a marriage celebrated by no priest but Fame, and made unknown to the supposed bridegroom: I shall therefore only tell you that the little gentleman and I are still at the old defiance. You have carried away too many of the perfections of your sex, to leave enough in this country for the reducing so stubborn a heart as mine, whose conquest were a task of so much difficulty, and is so little worth it, that the latter property is always likely to deter any that hath beauty and merit enough to overcome the former." He was tall, slender, and emaciated; excessively abstemious in food, and somewhat oppressed by low spirits: but at the same time of a copiousness of conversation and wit which made Cowley and Davenant rank him in that respect among the first men of his age. His benevolence both in action and sentiment distinguished him from others as much as his acquirements and experiments: and that in an age when toleration was unknown. He constantly refused a peerage, though the personal friend of three successive kings. He was always a moderate adherent of the Church of England; nor is it recorded that he ever attended any other place of worship, except once when he went to hear Sir Henry Vane discourse at his own house, on which occasion he entered into a discussion with the preacher. Finally, he was a man of whom all spoke well. With such a character, it is not to be wondered at if his private virtues were made to reflect a lustre upon his scientific exploits which the latter could not have gained alone; the more especially when it is considered that his contemporaries, who viewed him as he was, and from their own position, had a right to style his genius as one which produced results of the first order, which could be but another way of saying that it was of the first order itself.

So indeed it has been understood : and we are accustomed to talk of Bacon and Newton and Boyle together. The merits of Boyle are indeed singular, and almost unprecedented ; his discoveries are in several cases of the highest utility : but we do not think the inference that they were the result of a reasoning power, or a distinctive sagacity, of the highest kind, would be correct. Coming after Bacon, feeling all the beauty of his methods, disgusted with the spirit of system, and strong beyond his contemporaries in common sense, the same view of life which made him indifferent to the political and religious disputes of his time, and content himself with the knowledge and practice of the things which they all agreed in, also regulated his views of philosophy ; so that he tossed Laud and Paracelsus on one side, Prynne and Des Cartes on the other, and began to investigate for himself, on the simple principle of examining closely and strictly relating what he saw. In this respect his writings remind us strongly of those of Roger Bacon : they are full of sensible views and experiments of his own, and of absurdities derived from the relation of others. He leans too much, for one of our day, to the attempt to discover the fundamental relations which touch close upon the primary qualities of matter, instead of endeavouring to connect and classify what he had actually observed. And what we maintain is, that his discoveries do not show him to have that talent for suggestion and power of perceiving points of comparison which is the distinguishing attribute of the greatest discoverers. To take an instance : in his experiments " showing how to make flame stable and ponderable," he finds that various substances gain weight by being heated. He states it then as proved that " either flame, or the analogous effluxions of the fire, will be, what chemists would call, corporified with metals or minerals exposed naked to its action." But it never suggests itself to him, that the additional substance added to the metal or mineral may be air, or a part of air.

When a character has been overrated in any respect, the discovery of it is usually attended by what the

present age calls a *reaction*: the pendulum of opinion swings to the side opposite to that on which it has been unduly brought out of its position of equilibrium. For instance, in a very instructive discourse prefixed to the 'Supp. Encyc. Britann.,' Mr. Brande speaks thus: 'Boyle has left voluminous proofs of his attachment to scientific pursuits, but his experiments are too miscellaneous and desultory to have afforded either brilliant or useful results; his reasoning is seldom satisfactory; and a broad vein of prolixity traverses his philosophical works. He was too fond of mechanical philosophy to shine in chemistry, and gave too much time and attention to theological and metaphysical controversy to attain any excellence in either of the former studies. He who would do justice to Boyle's scientific character must find it rather upon the indirect benefits which he conferred, than upon any immediate aid which he lent to science. He exhibited a variety of experiments in public, which kindled the zeal of others more capable than himself. He was always open to conviction, and courted opposition and controversy upon the principle that truth is often elicited by the conflict of opinions." From none of this do we dissent except as to degree. To say that Boyle did not attain *any* excellence in chemistry, or furnish "any immediate aid" to science, is surely too much. Perhaps it will be a fair method to take a foreign history of physics (where national partiality is out of the question) and try the following point: What are those discoveries of the Briton of the seventeenth century which would be thought worthy of record by a Frenchman of the nineteenth? In the 'Hist. Phil. du Progrès de la Physique,' Paris, 1810, by M. Libes, we find a chapter devoted to the "Progrès de la Physique entre les Mains de Boyle," and we are told that the air-pump in his hands became a new machine—that such means in the hands of a man of genius multiply science, and that it is impossible to follow Boyle through his labours without being astonished at the immensity of his resources for tearing out the secrets of nature. The discovery of the propagation of sound by the air (the

more creditable to Boyle than Otto von Guericke had been led astray as to the cause), of the absorbing power of the atmosphere, of the elastic force and combusive power of steam, the approximation to the weight of the air, the discovery of the *reciprocal* attraction of the electrified and non-electrified body, are mentioned as additions to the science. Between the character implied in the two preceding quotations, we have no doubt the true one is to be found. But there is a peculiar advantage consequent upon such a labourer as Boyle in the infancy of such a science as chemistry. Here are no observed facts of such common occurrence, and the phenomena of which are so distinctly understood, that any theory receives something like assent or dissent as soon as it is proposed. The science of mechanics must have originally stood to chemistry much in the same relation as the objects of botany to those of mineralogy: the first presenting themselves, the second to be sought for. The mine was to be found as well as worked; and every one who sank a shaft diminished the labour of his successors by showing at least one place where it was not. In this point of view it is impossible to say to what degree of obligation chemistry is to limit its acknowledgments to Boyle. Searching every inlet which phenomena presented, trying the whole material world in detail, and with a disposition to prize an error prevented, as much as a truth discovered, it cannot be told how many were led to that which does exist, by the previous warning of Boyle as to that which does not. Perhaps had his genius been of a higher order he would have made fewer experiments and better deductions; but as it was, he was admirably fitted for the task he undertook, and no one can say that his works, the eldest progeny of the 'Novum Organum,' were anything but a credit to the source from whence they sprang, or that their author is unworthy to occupy a high place in our Pantheon, though not precisely on the grounds taken in many biographies or popular treatises.

The characteristics of Boyle as a theological writer are much the same as those which appertain to him as a phi-

losopher. He does not enter at all into disputed articles of faith, and preserves a quiet and argumentative tone throughout. In his discourse against customary swearing, written when he was very young, he shows a little of the vein which distinguishes his letters: but the very great prolixity which he falls into renders him almost unreadable. He was, as he informs us in his youth, a writer of verses; and one fancy-piece in prose, 'The Martyrdom of Theodora,' has been preserved, wherein his hero and heroine make set speeches to each other, of a kind somewhat like those in Cicero de Oratore, with a little dash of Amadis de Gaule, until the executioner relieves the reader. The treatises 'on Seraphic Love,' 'Considerations on the Style of the Scriptures,' and 'on the great Veneration that Man's Intellect owes to God,' have a place in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of the Roman Church. (Kippis, 'Biog. Brit.') His 'Occasional Reflections' have fallen under the lash of the two greatest satirists in our language, Swift and Butler, in the 'Pious Meditation upon a Broomstick' of the former, and an 'Occasional Reflection on Dr. Charlton's feeling a Dog's Pulse at Gresham College,' published with the posthumous writings of the latter. We are induced to give an extract from his now little known Reflections, as at once a specimen of his style and as affording a standard to judge of the merits of his better known satirists:—

"*Reflection VI.—Sitting at ease in a Coach that went very fast.*—As fast as this coach goes, I sit in it so much at ease, that whilst its rapid motion makes others suspect that I am running for a wager, this lazy posture, and this soft seat, do almost as much invite me to rest, as if I were a-bed. The hasty wheels strike fire out of the flints they happen to run over, and yet this self-same swiftness of these wheels, which, were I under them, would make them crush my bones themselves into splinters, if not into a jelly, now I am seated over them, and above their reach, serves but to carry me the faster towards my journey's end. Just so it is with outward accidents, and conditions, whose restless vicissitudes but too justly and too

fitly resemble them to wheels: when they meet with a spirit that lies prostrate on the ground, and falls groveling beneath them, they disorder and oppress it; but he, whose high reason and exalted piety, has, by a noble and steady contempt of them, placed him above them, may enjoy a happy and a settled quiet, in spite of all these busy agitations, and be so far from resenting any prejudicial discomposure from their inferior revolutions, that all those changes, that are taken for the giddy turns of fortune's wheel, shall serve to approach him the faster to the blest mansion he would arrive at."

The 'Boylean Lectures' were instituted by him in his last will, and endowed with the proceeds of certain property, as a salary for a "divine or preaching minister," on condition of preaching eight sermons in the year for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels, viz. atheists, theists, pagans, Jews, and Mahometans, not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves. The minister is also required to promote the propagation of Christianity, and answer the scruples of all who apply to him. The stipend was made perpetual by Archbishop Tennison. Dr. Bentley was appointed the first Boyle lecturer. We shall not give a detailed list of all the titles of Boyle's works, which would occupy much room to little purpose, as a complete set of the original editions is very rarely met with, and the two collected editions have their own indexes. During his lifetime, in 1677, a very imperfect and incorrect edition was published at Geneva. The first complete edition was published in 1744 by Dr. Birch, as already noticed. It is in five volumes folio, and contains the life which has furnished all succeeding writers with authorities, besides a very copious index. The collection of letters in the fifth volume is highly interesting. The second complete edition was published in 1772. But previously to either of these, in 1780, Dr. Shaw, the editor of Bacon, deserved well of the scientific world by publishing an edition of Boyle in three volumes quarto, "abridged, methodized, and disposed under general heads." The second edition was published in 1798. As

far as may be, the various and scattered experiments are brought together, and a good index added, but we cannot find any references to the originals. There is a list of Boyle's works in Hutton's mathematical dictionary, and another in Moreri. There is a copious life, taken mostly from Dr. Birch, in the 'Biog. Brit.,' and the same with some additions in Dr. Kippis's unfinished reprint.

It will be useful to remember as to contemporary chronology, that Boyle was born in the year in which Bacon died, and Newton in that in which Galileo died; Boyle being fifteen years older than Newton.





RICHARD BAXTER.



THIS eminent Nonconformist divine was born at Rowdon, a small village in Shropshire, on the 12th of November, 1615; but he resided till 1625 at Eaton Constantine, about five miles from Shrewsbury. The contiguity of his birth-place to the seat of Lord Newport was probably the means of introducing him to the notice of that nobleman. His father's little property was so much encumbered, as to prevent him from giving his son any education beyond what could be obtained from the village schoolmasters, who were neither competent teachers nor moral men. To Mr. John Owen, who kept the free grammar-school at Wroxeter, Baxter acknowledges some obligations. Though he was captain of the school, his acquirements were very inconsiderable when he left it. His ambition was to enter one of the universities to qualify himself for the ministry; but his master, Mr. Owen, probably perceiving that he required more regular instruction than he could expect to receive from

a college tutor, recommended him to Mr. Richard Wickstead, chaplain to the council at Ludlow, who had an allowance from government for a divinity student. Though the defects in his previous education were but ill supplied by this arrangement (Wickstead being a negligent tutor), he had access to a good library, where he acquired a taste for those studies which he pursued with such indefatigable diligence in after-life. Here he continued for eighteen months, when he returned to his father's house, and, at Lord Newport's request, supplied for a few months the place of his old master at Wroxeter grammar-school. Finding all his hopes of going to the university disappointed he resumed his professional studies under the direction of Mr. Francis Garbett, a clergyman of some celebrity, who conducted him through a course of theology, and gave him much valuable assistance in his general reading. While he was thus engaged, he was suddenly diverted from his pursuits by a proposition from his friend, Mr. Wickstead, to try his fortune at court. The project, singular as it was, seems not to have been unpalatable either to the future puritan-divine or to his father: theology was thrown aside, and Baxter went up to Whitehall, specially introduced to Sir Henry Herbert, master of the revels, as an aspirant to royal favour. His reception was courteous and even kind. For one month he mingled in the festivities of the palace—a period which was sufficient to convince him of the unsuitableness of such a mode of life to his tastes, his habits, and his conscience;—he then returned home, and resumed his studies with a determination never to be again diverted from them. Before he went to London, his religious impressions were deepened by the perusal of Bunyan's 'Resolution,' Sibbs's 'Bruised Reed,' and other works of this kind. Some books which he read after his return increased that habitual seriousness which he derived from his natural disposition, as well as from the example of his father; and a protracted illness completed the preparation of his mind for the reception of those impressions of religious duty under which he acted through the remainder of his life.

While he was in this declining state of health, his anxiety to commence his ministerial labours overcame every other consideration. He applied for ordination to the bishop of Worcester, and obtained it, together with a schoolmaster's licence, as he had accepted the mastership of the free grammar-school at Dudley, just then founded by his friend Mr. Foley, of Stourbridge. He was then twenty-three years of age, and at this time entertained no scruples on the subject of conformity, having never examined with any nicety the grounds of subscription. His attention, however, was speedily drawn to the debatable points of the controversy; but, at first, the bitter tone of the Nonconformists gave him an unfavourable impression of their character, though he admired their fervent piety, and their energetic efforts to stem the moral corruption of the times. There was much in his own views and temperament which corresponded with theirs; but it required time and circumstances to develop the tendencies of his mind.

At the end of nine months Baxter removed from Dudley to Bridgenorth, where he acted as assistant to the clergyman. A release from his school engagements must, to such a mind as Baxter's, intent upon pastoral duties, have appeared a sufficient inducement for the change, but, in the then state of his feelings, it was of still greater moment for him to be relieved from the prospect of having to renew his subscription. Bridgenorth is the centre of a little district comprising six parishes, exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction, except a triennial visitation from the archbishop. Here he expected to perform the humble duties of a curate without obstruction, happy in the society of a colleague whose views harmonized with his own, and still happier in having a wide field for his exertions. But his hopes were soon frustrated by the "et cetera oath," as it was called, which enjoined all who had taken orders to swear that they would never consent to any alteration in the ceremonial or government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. It does not appear that Mr. Baxter, any more than his brother clergyman at Bridge-

north, thought it necessary to observe the terms of this oath, for a complaint was laid against them for non-compliance with the ritual in various particulars.

Baxter left Bridgenorth after a residence of one year and nine months, on an invitation from a committee of the parishioners (1640) to become the officiating clergyman at the parish church in Kidderminster, the vicar having agreed, in order to settle disputes, to allow 60*l.* per annum to a curate of their own choosing. The living was afterwards sequestered, the townsmen collected the tithes, paid Baxter and Baxter's curate, and gave the vicar 40*l.* per annum. The circumstances under which Baxter settled at Kidderminster were favourable to his views; but it was not without considerable opposition from one portion of the community, whose vices he publicly reproved, that he carried some of his reforms into effect. Not satisfied with correcting the more flagrant offences of the inhabitants, he visited them at their houses, became acquainted with their families, gave them religious instruction in private, and became their friend as well as their pastor. By these means he soon wrought a complete change in the habits of the people. Though so strict a disciplinarian, his conciliatory manners won the hearts of all but a few who were irreclaimable. His preaching was acceptable to all ranks. Wherever he went, large audiences attended him; and his energy was so unremitting, notwithstanding his feeble health and constant indisposition, that he preached three or four times a week.

During the civil wars of that period Baxter held a position by which he was connected with both the opposite parties in the state, and yet was the partisan of neither. His attachment to monarchy was well known, though his adherence to the Royalist party was not so certain; while the deep stream of religious feeling which ran through the conversation of the Parliamentarians drew his sympathies to that side. The undisguised respect paid by him to the character of some of the Puritans, made him and many others, who were sincerely attached to the crown, the objects of jealousy and per-

secution. A clamour was raised against them, and the rabble, whose excesses had been checked by him, were eager enough to become the trumpeters of the charge. During one of these ebullitions of party excitement, Baxter spent a few days in the Parliamentary army, and was preaching within sound of the cannon when the memorable battle was fought at Edgehill. His friends, not considering it safe for him to return to Kidderminster, he retired to Coventry, where he lived two years, preaching regularly to the Parliamentary garrison and to the inhabitants. After the battle of Naseby, in 1645, he passed a night on a visit to some friends in Cromwell's army, a circumstance which led to the chaplaincy of Colonel Whalley's regiment being offered to him, which, after consulting his friends at Coventry, he accepted. In this capacity he was present at the taking of Bridgewater, the sieges of Exeter, Bristol, and Worcester, by Colonels Whalley and Rainsborough. He lost no opportunity of moderating the temper of the champions of the Commonwealth, and of restraining them within the bounds of reason; but as it was known that the check proceeded from one who was unfriendly to the ulterior objects of the party, his interference was coolly received. Among the soldiery he laboured with unceasing ardour to diffuse a better spirit, and to correct those sectarian errors, as he considered them—anabaptism, antinomianism, and separatism inclusive,—which in his view were so productive of disputes and animosity.

After his recovery from an illness, which compelled him to leave the army, we find him again at Kidderminster, exerting himself with renewed vigour to moderate conflicting opinions. The conduct of Cromwell at this crisis exceedingly perplexed that class of men of whom Baxter might be regarded as the type. For the sake of peace they yielded to an authority which they condemned as a usurpation, but nothing could purchase their approbation of the measures by which it had been attained and was supported. In open conference, Baxter did not scruple to denounce Cromwell and his adherents as guilty of treason and rebellion; though he afterwards

worship, that it had the effect of banishing at once two thousand divines from the pale of the English church. Of this number was Baxter. Previous to the passing of this measure he had refused the bishopric of Hereford and other preferments offered him by Clarendon, the Chancellor, asking one favour only in lieu of them—to be allowed to return to his beloved flock at Kidderminster. The vicar, who was ejected in 1640, had been restored; and was bound by the old agreement to pay Baxter 60*l.* a year as a lecturer. But Baxter was willing to perform the pastoral duties without remuneration: all he wanted was to watch over those whom he had brought into the fold of Christ; but this request was refused.

On the 25th of May, 1662, three months before the day on which the Bartholomew Act, as the Act of Uniformity was called, from its coming into operation on St. Bartholomew's day, Baxter had preached in London his last sermon, under a regular engagement in the church; and, finding his public duties at an end, he retired in July, 1663, to Acton, in Middlesex, where he employed most of his leisure in writing for the press. Some of his largest works were the fruits of this seclusion. His two most popular treatises, 'The Saints' Everlasting Rest,' and 'A Call to the Unconverted,' were published before he left Kidderminster, and raised his fame as a writer to a higher pitch than what he had enjoyed even as a preacher. Several attempts were made by the ejected ministers and their friends in parliament to get the rigorous restrictions against them removed, but without success. The persecutions continued with unabated violence. Even those who, like Baxter, disliked separation, and attended the worship of the church, suffered penalties for having morning and evening prayers at their own houses. In the midst of those awful calamities, the plague and the fire, which raged with such frightful devastation in two successive years, the services of the Puritan divines to the inhabitants of the metropolis were so conspicuous, that the current of opinion turned in their favour, and led to new efforts in their behalf,

which ended for the time in the Indulgence granted in 1672. This drew Baxter from his retirement at Totteridge, to which place he had removed on the suppression of his ministry at Acton. He settled again in London, and preached as a lecturer in different parts of the City, but more constantly at Pinner's Hall and Fetter Lane. His preaching, though highly acceptable to his more immediate friends, was never so popular as it had been at Kidderminster. While he advocated tolerance from an intolerant communion he shone like a light in a dark place; but now that he was the apologist of conformity, while he was a sufferer for non-conformity, his conduct involved a kind of consistency too refined for public admiration. An ineffectual attempt which he made at this time to combine the Protestant interests against Papal ascendancy exposed him to various misrepresentations, to remove which he published a vindication of himself in a tract entitled 'An Appeal to the Light,' but without eradicating the unfavourable impressions.

His time was now divided between writing and preaching. For a while he had a regular audience in a room over St. James's market-house, and at other places in London. But his public duties were frequently suspended by those rigorous enactments to which the Nonconformists were subjected during the last two reigns of the Stuarts.

In 1682 the officers of the law burst into his house, at a time when he laboured under severe indisposition, with a warrant to seize his person for coming within five miles of a corporation, and would have hurried him before a justice of the peace in this condition, had they not been met by his physician, whose interference probably saved his life as well as obtained his pardon. Two years later, while his health was still in a precarious state from a chronic disease, he was again harassed by distrains and penal proceedings. Still later it was his misfortune to be one of the unhappy victims of Jeffreys. He was apprehended on a lord chief justice's warrant, on a charge of sedition and being hostile to episcopacy. The charge was founded on some passages

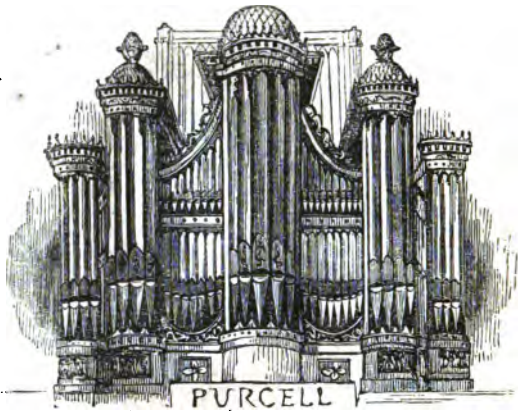
in his 'Paraphrase of the New Testament.' On the trial, Jeffreys, not content with using language the most opprobrious to the prisoner and his counsel, acted the part of prosecutor as well as judge, and scrupled not to gain his ends by silencing the accused, by insulting his counsel, by refusing to hear his witnesses, and by triumphing over his sentence. He said upon the bench, "he was sorry that the Act of Indemnity disabled him from hanging him." His punishment was a fine of 500 marks, to lie in prison till it was paid, and to be bound to his good behaviour for seven years. For the non-payment of this heavy penalty he was committed to the King's Bench prison, where he lay until the 26th of November in the following year (1686), having been confined for nearly eighteen months. His pardon was obtained by the mediation of Lord Powis, and the fine was remitted. The solitude of his prison was enlivened on this, as on former occasions, by the affectionate attentions of his wife. Baxter himself lived to see that favourable change in reference to religious toleration which commenced at the Revolution of 1688. He died on the 8th of December, 1691, and was buried in Christ Church, Newgate-Street.

The literary career of Baxter is not the least extraordinary part of his history. He published a body of practical and polemical divinity with a rapidity almost unequalled; the excellence of some of his practical writings secured them an unexampled popularity, and thus laid the foundation of a new theological system which still retains his name. The catalogue of his works is not easily described. It contains nearly 168 distinct publications. (See list in Orme's Life, prefixed to the edition of his works, London, 1830.) Many of these are only known to his admirers, but others are more read than any other productions of a religious character. His fame chiefly rests on his two most popular works, and on his 'Methodus Theologiæ' and 'Catholic Theology,' in which his peculiar views are embodied. Several of his learned contemporaries have recorded their testimony to the character of his writings. Sir Matthew Hale was a

constant reader of them, and honoured Baxter with his friendship. Bishop Wilkins praised him in the phrase that Johnson afterwards applied to Goldsmith: "he has cultivated every subject which he has handled;" and Dr. Isaac Barrow said, that "his practical writings were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom confuted." Baxter left behind him a 'Narrative of the most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times,' which was published in a folio volume after his death (1696) by his intimate friend Mr. Matthew Sylvester, under the title 'Reliquiæ Baxterianæ.' It is here that we find that review of his religious opinions written in the latter part of his life, which Coleridge speaks of as one of the most remarkable pieces of writing that have come down to us. (See Coleridge's 'Biographia Literaria.') Calamy's 'Life of Baxter' is a kind of abridgment of this work, which abounds in notices of the men, the transactions, the habits, and the opinions of the stirring period in which he lived.

There are a few poems by Baxter, not long ago published in a small volume. His 'World of Spirits' has been lately reprinted.

The name of Baxterians, adopted by his more immediate adherents, is now almost extinct: but Baxterianism is still the resting place of many who do not approve of the extremes of Calvinism. The Baxterians hardly ever attained the rank of a separate denomination, even when they were most numerous; and they are now completely scattered among different communions. Their writings are most popular among the orthodox dissenters.



HENRY PURCELL, the pride and boast of the English school of music, was born in the year 1658, in the city of Westminster, it is generally supposed. His father Henry, and also his uncle Thomas Purcell, were appointed gentlemen of the chapel-royal at the Restoration, and are named, in the archives of the herald's college, among the persons who officiated at the coronation of Charles II. The young Henry lost his father when but six years of age, about which time he appears to have entered as one of the children of the chapel under Captain Cook, then master, to whom therefore it is rather more than probable he was indebted not only for his initiation in the principles of music, but for much of his knowledge of its practice, and of its theory as applicable to composition. It is true that on Dr. Blow's monumental tablet in Westminster Abbey it is triumphantly recorded that he was "master to the famous Mr. Henry Purcell;" and no doubt the youthful musician,



BU. FURCENL.

when he quitted the chapel on his voice changing, received some instructions from Blow, a master then in high repute, and from whom a few lessons were enough to recommend to public notice a young man on his entrance into the world ; but to Cook the credit is due for the right guidance of Purcell's inborn genius, and for its early cultivation. Sir John Hawkins says, "it is certain that he was a scholar of Pelham Humphrey, who was Cook's successor," but gives no authority for this, and assigns no reason for his belief. Humphrey became master of the children in 1672, when Purcell had attained his fourteenth year, who consequently could not have remained long, if at all, under the tuition of the new master: Cook therefore must not on such doubtful evidence be deprived of the praise to which he is entitled for his large share in the education of our great English composer. But, as Dr. Burney has well remarked, "there is nothing more common than this *petit larceny* among musicians. If the first master has drudged eight or ten years with a pupil of genius, and it is thought necessary, in compliance with fancy or caprice, that he should receive a few lessons from a second, this last instantly arrogates to himself the whole honour both of the talents and cultivation of his new scholar, and the first and chief instructor is left to sing *sic vos non vobis*."

Purcell was remarkable for precocity of talent, and seconded the liberality of nature by his zeal and diligence. While yet a boy-chorister he composed more than one anthem ; and in 1676, though only eighteen years of age, was chosen to succeed Dr. Christopher Gibbons as organist of Westminster Abbey, an appointment of high professional rank. Six years after, in 1682, he became one of the organists of the royal chapel ; and there, as well as at the Abbey, produced his numerous anthems, many of which appear in different collections, and nearly all of them have recently been published in one complete work. These were eagerly sought, almost as soon as written, for the use of the various cathedrals, and thus his fame quickly travelled to the remotest parts of England and Ireland. Had Purcell confined himself to

church music only, he would have stood on very lofty ground as compared with either his predecessors or contemporaries, and his works would have been transmitted with honour to after-ages; but the greatness of his genius is most conspicuous in his compositions for the chamber and the stage. In these the vividness of his imagination and the fertility of his invention appear in all their affluence, because unrestrained by the character of the poetry to which he gave musical expression, and unincumbered by what is termed musical erudition, a kind of learning which time (even a century and a half ago) and a laudable feeling of veneration had rendered an almost necessary attribute of cathedral harmony. The versatility of his talent and the division of his labours between the church and the theatre, led his facetious friend, Tom Brown, in his 'Letters from the Dead to the Living,' to say that musical men "hang between the church and the playhouse, as Mahomet's tomb does between the two loadstones, and must equally incline to both, because by both are equally supported."

Purcell's first essay in dramatic music, when only nineteen years of age, was his setting the songs, &c. in Nahum Tate's 'Dido and Æneas,' an operetta written for a boarding-school of celebrity. In this is the simple and beautiful duet, 'Fear no danger,' once sung everywhere and by everybody, but now almost forgotten. The music in Nat. Lee's 'Theodosius, or the Force of Love,' performed at the Duke's theatre, in 1690, was his first work for the public stage. In the same year he set new music to 'The Tempest,' as altered by Dryden, which is still heard with delight, and also the 'Prophetess, or Diocletian,' altered by Dryden and Betterton from Beaumont and Fletcher. In 1691 he composed the songs, &c. in Dryden's 'King Arthur,' among which are the inimitable frost-scene, the very original and lovely air, 'Fairest Isle,' and the charming duet, 'Two daughters of this aged stream are we.' In 1692 appeared Sir R. Howard's and Dryden's 'Indian Queen,' with Purcell's music. The fine incantation scene in this, 'Ye twice ten hundred deities,' is yet often heard in good

concerts, but never in fashionable ones. The duet and chorus, 'To arms,' and the air, 'Britons, strike home!' in Dryden's alteration of 'Bonduca,' are national property—are our war-songs, always received with acclamations when we are engaged in or menaced by hostilities, and frequently performed during peace on account of their beauty, musically considered. These alone will suffice to carry Purcell's name to distant ages. His music in D'Urfey's 'Don Quixote' is remarkably appropriate and clever: the song, 'Genius of England,' has few rivals, and the cantata, 'Let the dreadful engines of eternal will,' sung in the character of the love-distracted Cardenio, is, with the exception of the latter part (now very wisely omitted in the performance), one of the composer's finest creations. He also wrote airs, overtures, and act-tunes for many dramas, among which may be mentioned Dryden and Lee's 'Cædipus,' 'Timon of Athens,' 'The Fairy Queen,' altered from 'A Midsummer-night's Dream,' and Dryden's 'Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr.'

The three detached cantatas by Purcell are undeniable proofs of his fancy, energy, and deep feeling. It is sufficient to name 'Mad Bess,' 'Old Tom of Bedlam,' or 'Mad Tom' (the words by Mr. William Basse, Walton tells us, in his 'Angler'), and 'From rosy bowers,' written by Tom D'Urfey, but *not* originally sung in 'Don Quixote,' as Percy seems to think. So well known are these, so highly valued by true connoisseurs, and so much admired by all lovers of music, that one more word in their praise would be superfluous. It is not necessary to enter into any account of, or even to name, his many single songs and duets. After the composer's death they were collected by his widow, and published in two folio volumes, under the title of 'Orpheus Britannicus,' the second and best edition of which is now very rare. His odes, glees, catches, and rounds are numerous, and several of them familiar to the admirers of vocal harmony. In 1683 he published twelve sonatas for two violins and a bass. In the preface he says that "he has faithfully endeavoured a just imitation of the most famed Italian masters, principally

to bring the seriousness and gravity of that sort of music into vogue and reputation among our countrymen, whose humour 't is time now should begin to loathe the levity and *balladry* of our neighbours." Purcell's esteem for the Italian masters had been before confessed in the dedication of his 'Diocletian' to the Duke of Somerset, wherein he modestly remarks, "Poetry and painting have arrived to their perfection in our country: music is yet but in its nonage, a forward child, which gives hope of what it may be hereafter in England, when the masters of it shall find more encouragement. 'T is now learning Italian, which is its best master, and studying a little of the French air to give it somewhat more of gayety and fashion. Thus being farther from the sun, we are of later growth than our neighbouring countries, and must be content to shake off our barbarity by degrees." Here he does justice to the French school, by which he had certainly profited, though in a perfectly fair manner.

Two years after his decease his widow printed the overtures, act-tunes, &c. before mentioned, under the title of 'A Collection of Ayres composed for the Theatre, and on other Occasions,' &c. They are in four parts, and continued in use in Dr. Burney's time, till superseded by Handel's concertos and other newer compositions.

We have above alluded to Purcell's compositions for the church, and as regards these must add a few remarks. His published anthems amount in number to upwards of fifty; and to these are to be added a *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* with orchestral accompaniments—a complete Service, several hymns, motets, and sacred songs. Some of his anthems, especially those in Dr. Boyce's Collection, are still in use in our cathedral and other choirs, and never can be allowed to fall into neglect while the influential persons in those venerable establishments possess any musical discernment. His *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, to which the epithet "grand" is the usual prefix, is a work that has seldom if ever been spoken of but in terms of unqualified panegyric. That it evinces many

traits of originality—that it displays a vast deal of scientific skill—that an easy, pleasing melody runs through portions of it—and that it has also the merit of being the first of the kind ever produced in this country, cannot be denied: but, on the other hand, there is in its general structure a want of suitable grandeur—mainly arising from the frequent occurrence of mean passages of pointed, jerking notes in the vocal parts, that take from it much of the solemnity which the subject demands; and these, together with certain divisions that disconnect the words and obscure the sense, produce an effect not only undignified, but nearly bordering on the ridiculous. Besides these greater defects, there are in the work some others of less importance, such as a few conceits, some harsh notes, and occasional errors in accentuation and emphasis. The best excuse for the composer is, that most of the errors we have ventured to point out were common at the time they were committed. Still they are errors, and of magnitude, and should have kept within moderate bounds that warmth of feeling which has led to such unreserved encomiums on what, in our opinion, is by no means to be reckoned among the best of the composer's works.

Purcell died in November, 1695, of consumption, Hawkins surmises; and it is to be wished that this always industrious and sometimes over-diligent historian had not snatched from the oblivion to which it ought to have been consigned, a "tradition" that his death was occasioned by a cold caught in an inclement night, waiting for admittance into his house, Mrs. Purcell having "given orders to his servants not to let him in after midnight." We regret to say that this exceedingly improbable story has lately been revived, without the slightest attempt at proof, accompanied by vituperative expressions most injurious to the memory of one who, if we may judge from her language in the dedication to the 'Orpheus Britannicus,' was an attached, faithful wife, and incapable of the cruelty alleged against her. Purcell's habits, Hawkins states, were of the most convivial kind, and led him too frequently into the society of "the

witty Tom Brown," together with other persons of irregular lives; and thus were, most likely, sown the seeds of a disease which at so early a period terminated a life of such inestimable value.

The remains of this great musician lie in the north transept of Westminster Abbey: on a pillar near the spot is a tablet, placed there by the Lady Elizabeth Howard, on which is the subjoined inscription, commonly attributed to Dryden:—

" Here lies
HENRY PURCELL, Esq.,
who left this life,
and is gone to that blessed place
where only his harmony can be exceeded.
Obiit 21mo. die Novembris,
Anno ætatis sue 37mo.,
Annoq. Domini, 1695."

On the stone over his grave was a Latin epitaph, now entirely effaced. The original and a translation are both given by Hawkins and Burney. Among the works of Dryden is an epitaph on the death of his friend Purcell, but it cannot be viewed as one of the happiest of the great poet's efforts. Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, wrote an ode on the same occasion, in which are some noble thoughts concerning the desire of posthumous fame. It concludes with the following praise of the art in which our British composer signalised himself:—

" Music exalts man's nature, and inspires
High elevated thoughts, or gentle kind desires."

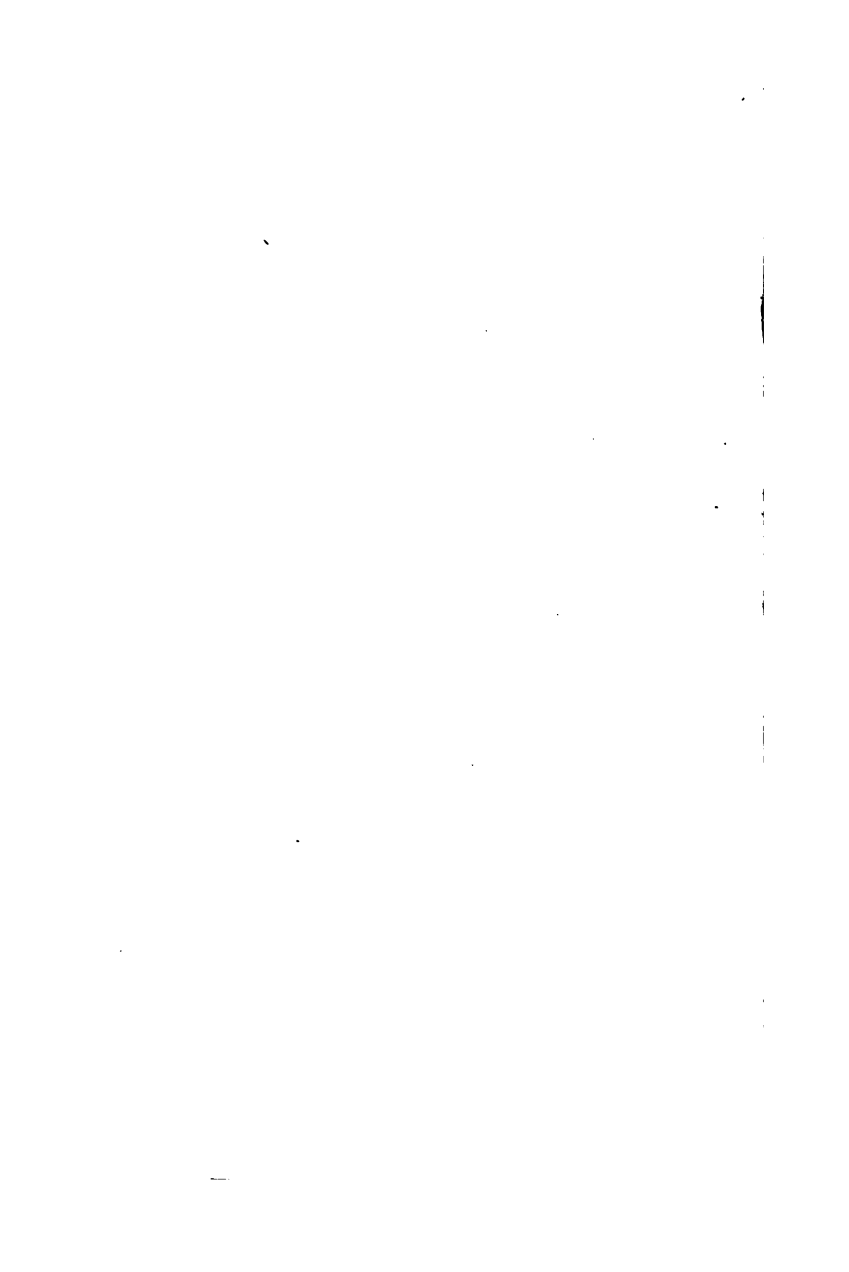
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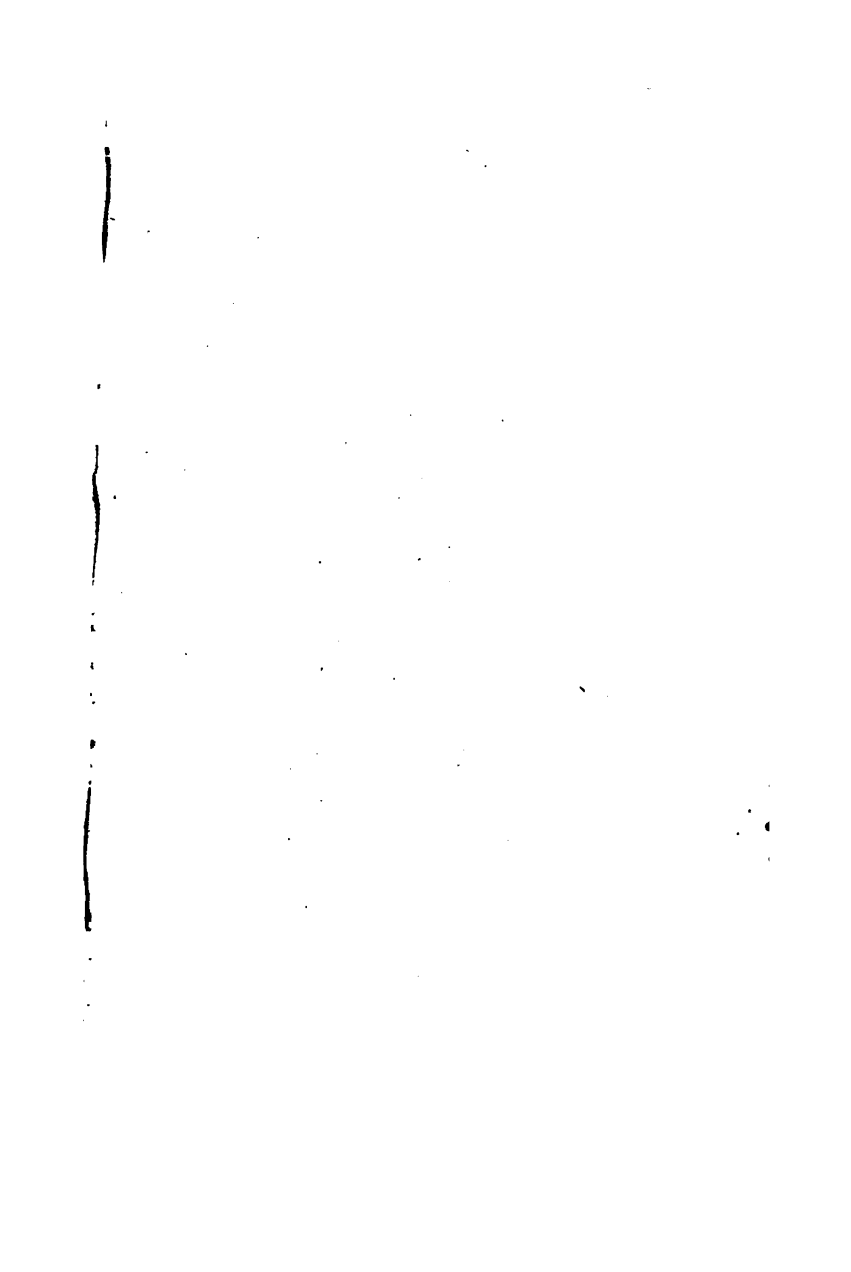
THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
6005-6
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME X.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

• 1846.

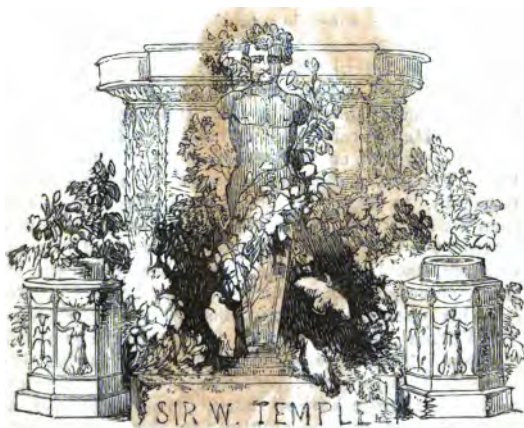






JOHN WILKINS, ESQ.

CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY OF BRITISH WORTHIES.



SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE has left a name of some distinction in our literature; it is, however, as a diplomatist and statesman that he is most entitled to remembrance. Strictly speaking, his public career extends only over about half the space that intervened between the Restoration and the Revolution; but during that memorable period he was, although not perhaps so conspicuous a figure as some others, yet one of the most active and influential personages of our political drama. He was certainly also one of the most honest. His

straightforwardness, indeed, upon all occasions, even although it may not have been of a very adventurous character, and although it may have been accompanied by, and may indeed have sprung in part from, a certain vanity or over-consciousness of his own merits and cleverness, was such as would have done honour to a time very different from that age of general duplicity and want of principle among public men, and would have made him remarkable among the diplomatists of any age or country.

The Temples, according to the common genealogies, derived their descent from the Saxon Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and his wife the famous Godiva. They were certainly one of the oldest families among our gentry, having been established at their manor of Temple, or Temple Hall, near Wellesborough, in Leicestershire, since the twelfth or thirteenth century. One of them, Peter Temple, a second son, removed, in the reign of Elizabeth, to Stow, in Buckinghamshire; and while from his eldest son, John, whose son Thomas was made a baronet in 1611, have sprung the Barons and Viscounts Cobham, the Earls Temple, the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, the Lords Nugent, the Lords Lyttelton, &c., his youngest, Anthony, became the progenitor of Sir William Temple, as well as of the Viscounts Palmerston. Anthony's son William, after having been secretary first to Sir Philip Sidney, and after his death to the unfortunate Earl of Essex, retired to Ireland, was knighted, and became a master in the Irish Court of Chancery, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and a representative, some accounts say of the university, some of the city, in parliament. His son John, also knighted, became Master of the Rolls and a privy councillor in Ireland, and wrote a History of the Rebellion in 1641. He married Mary, daughter of John Hammond, of Chertsey, in Surrey, and sister of Dr. Henry Hammond, the eminent divine; and by her he had three sons and a daughter, of whom William, the eldest son, whose life we are about to relate, was born at Blackfriars, in London, in the year 1628. John, the second son, who became,

after the Restoration, solicitor and attorney general for Ireland, and also speaker of the Irish House of Commons, was the father of the first and the great great-grandfather of the present Viscount Palmerston.

Sir John Temple, when the contest first broke out between the king and the parliament, had sided with the latter, and was dismissed from his office of Master of the Rolls, and imprisoned, in 1643, for opposing certain proceedings of the Duke of Ormond, then the Irish lord-lieutenant. The following year he obtained his liberty by an exchange of prisoners, and, having been returned to the English parliament as member for Chichester, he sat till he was turned out by Colonel Pride, with the rest of his party, in 1648. If not a professor of the religious opinions of the Presbyterians, he had generally voted with that section of the House, which comprised most of the original opponents of the king, to the exclusion of those whose object was not to bring Charles to terms, but to destroy the monarchy. After living, however, in retirement in London for about five years, he gave in his adhesion to the government of the Protector, and in 1653 he was permitted to resume his office in Ireland, in which he was continued after the Restoration, and in the possession of which he died at the age of seventy-seven, in 1677.

The Life of Sir William Temple has lately been written in ample detail, and with a careful examination of all the known sources of information, both printed and manuscript, which has brought to light many new facts, by the Right Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay. In what follows we shall avail ourselves freely of the materials collected in Mr. Courtenay's work, which appeared in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1836.

Temple's early education is said to have been superintended by his learned uncle, Dr. Hammond, who was rector of Penshurst in Kent. Temple therefore must be supposed to have spent his first years there, in the neighbourhood of the seat of the Sidneys, the old patrons of his family. The common accounts make him to have gone to school at Penshurst. When

Hammond, who was a royalist of a much deeper dye than his brother-in-law, was driven out of his living by the parliament, in the summer of 1643, young Temple, who, it would appear, had been left with his uncle when his father and mother removed to Ireland, was sent to a grammar-school at Bishop's Stortford, in Hertfordshire. "Here," says Mr. Courtenay, "he learned all the Latin and Greek he ever knew." But surely it cannot be supposed that his uncle would allow him to grow up to the age of fifteen without knowing his rudiments. "His Latin," Mr. Courtenay adds, "he retained; but he often regretted the loss of his Greek." We do not understand what Mr. Courtenay means by telling us that an interval of two years which he now spent before going to college was "occasioned by the unsettled state of affairs." If he knew nothing of either Greek or Latin, when he went to Stortford, the two years that he spent there are sufficiently explained. Such an interval for preparation would have been quite necessary even in the most tranquil times. At the age of seventeen, however, which would be in the year 1645, he was placed at Emanuel College, Cambridge, where his tutor was Dr. Ralph Cudworth, the celebrated author of the 'Intellectual System of the Universe.' "At this time," continues Mr. Courtenay, on the authority of a manuscript Life of Temple by his sister Lady Giffard, "the fortunes of Sir John Temple were very low; but he chose to spare in any thing rather than what might tend to the advantage of his children in their breeding and education. But Temple's education in its scholastic sense did not proceed successfully. His learned tutor endeavoured in vain to initiate him in the study of logic and philosophy; he gave himself up to tnn is, and entertainments which agreed better with his age and lively humour, and quitted Cambridge after two years, without any degree or academic honours; and had it been possible, he was accustomed to say, he should have lost all that he had previously learned." He left the university probably in the latter end of the year 1647.

He was then sent by his father to spend some time in

France. This proved a momentous journey for him. Passing through the Isle of Wight, where the king now lay a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, he there met the son and daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, the royalist governor of Jersey, who were, like himself, on their way to St. Maloes, in Normandy, there to join their father. The party had all left the inn to proceed to their place of embarkation, when young Osborne, in the excitement of the moment, stepped back and wrote with a diamond on one of the windows the following verse from the book of Esther:—*And Haman was hanged upon the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai.* We suppose the sting of the allusion was considered to lie in the resemblance of the name Haman to that of Colonel Hammond, in whose hands Charles was. The words at all events were no sooner read than pursuit was made after the writer; and it might have fared ill with the imprudent youth if his sister, with the quickness of woman's wit, had not taken the offence upon herself. Of course, she had also the skill to beg herself off in a way there was no resisting and the party were allowed to proceed on their journey. But Dorothy Osborne had in those few moments done more than deliver her brother and herself; she had wound a chain around another heart with that fatal cast which was to make it her captive for life, and also (what perhaps she less thought of) in due time to terminate for ever the freedom of her own. She was at this time twenty-one, about a year older than Temple, and very beautiful. They are supposed to have remained together for some time at St. Maloes; and it is probable that before they parted, Temple had obtained a confession that his affection was returned. As soon, however, as his father heard of what was going on, he ordered him to proceed to Paris.

Mr. Courtenay makes him to have resided two years in France, then to have visited Holland, Flanders, and Germany, and to have returned home when he was yet only twenty-two or twenty-three—that is to say, in 1650 or 1651. It is strange that Mr. Courtenay should have overlooked the following endorsement on some of

Temple's manuscripts still preserved, which he has himself given in his Supplement;—"Essays by Sir W. T., written in his youth at Brussels in 1652, when he was about 24." It is not probable that his return took place, at the earliest, before the end of that year. And from one of Miss Osborne's letters, of which Mr. Courtenay gives a short abstract in his Supplement, he appears to have paid a second visit to Holland in 1653.

When he came back, he is stated to have fixed his residence in London, with his father it may be supposed, at least till Sir John returned to Ireland in 1653. It is admitted that he entered to a certain extent into the dissipations of the town; but he spent the greater part of his time in study, reading much, and also continuing the habit of composition both in prose and verse, which he had begun while abroad. Some specimens which Mr. Courtenay has printed from his early writings, still preserved in manuscript, evince a rather remarkable degree both of reflection and observation, as well as considerable ingenuity and fancy, although we cannot subscribe to the judgment of an eloquent living critic, that they contain anything "which reminds us of the best things in Montaigne." Mr. Courtenay speaks also of a collection of romantic stories, still extant, which Temple says he had imitated, not translated, from the French, and which appear to be of this date. He had brought back with him from his travels a complete mastery of both French and Spanish.

But by far the most interesting passage of this period of his life is his wooing of Dorothy Osborne. "The accidents for seven years of that amour," says his sister, Lady Giffard, "might make a history, and the letters that passed between them a volume. Though I cannot venture on it myself, I have often wished that they might be printed; for, to say nothing of *his* writing, which all the world has since been made judge of, I never saw anything more extraordinary than hers." Fortunately, although Temple's own letters are lost, many of those of the lady are preserved; and Mr. Courtenay has printed large extracts from them, though

not more than every reader will thank him for having given. Besides the love-story the memorable course of which they record or enable us to trace, they are interesting both from the talent they display, and from the glimpses they afford us into English life, both public and private, two hundred years ago. They make decidedly the portion of the biography of Temple that retains the most of life in it and will retain that life the longest. At first, and for some time, both families were opposed to the match, but the Osbornes most resolutely or violently. Sir John Temple himself, half a Commonwealth-man in principle, willing to be reconciled to the existing state of things, and already perhaps looking to the new government for the preferment or restoration to office which he eventually obtained, naturally saw no prudence in his son connecting himself with the side which had been thrown down, even although there was the chance of its rising again some time or other; but there was no passion in his objections. Latterly, in his attempts to wean his son from his unfortunate attachment, he appears to have relied chiefly on being able to persuade him that the lady did not care for him—that he was no more to her than another of her many suitors; and perhaps the old gentleman believed this, for indeed the number of admirers Mistress Dorothy managed to gather and keep about her may very well have perplexed and somewhat alarmed an old-gentlemanly understanding of such matters. But the aversion of the Osbornes to the Temples was a feeling of another description. In the estimation of the faithful adherents and martyrs of royalism, the conduct of the ex-Master of the Rolls and ex-member for Chichester, false, as they would say, to both parties, and discarded first by the one and then by the other, yet waiting to be reinstated he did not mind by which, and meanwhile safe and snug, and little harmed in his fortunes, while they were deprived nearly of their all, would be viewed with all the bitterness of mingled hatred and contempt. But love, true and enduring, conquers all things. Temple was not to be turned from his suit; and Dorothy Osborne

was a brave, resolute, noble-hearted maiden, to whom difficulties were nothing, and trials of all kinds only triumphs.

Mr. Courtenay believes that the letters of which he gives extracts were all written in the years 1653 and 1654. "During the period of the correspondence," he observes, "Mrs. Osborne was partly, perhaps for the greater part of it, at her father's house at Chicksands (in Bedfordshire), sometimes at other places in the country, sometimes for a short time in London. Temple was, apparently, at the commencement, for a short time in Holland, chiefly in London, and in Ireland; and paid her, it would appear, some clandestine and some acknowledged visits." In what has been printed, it is added, "mere expressions of affection have been generally omitted," which we think a pity and a mistake. In the complete collection, we are elsewhere informed, "they contain abundant evidence of a faithful and passionate attachment; much allusion to the persecution of friends, the difficulties of the correspondence, the impatience with which the letters were expected, and the blush with which they were received. There are thanks for long letters, reproaches for short; rings, pictures, and hair requested or bestowed; company despised, and the world abjured; tears amid parties of pleasure, and delight in the solitary ramble; rivals rejected, and cruel brothers defied. There is the usual variety of matter, and rapidity of transition; some fashionable gossip, and much serious reflection; now and then a very little scandal; often, the warm commendation of a friend. All these ordinary topics are handled by Dorothy Osborne with a confident frankness, and an ease that is delightful; in a style correct and graphical, evidently conceived in purity and truth. There is much to show the gentlewoman and the Christian, with an occasional appearance of the simple woman. She writes much of books; but generally of romances, chiefly of poetry; scarcely at all of works of a graver cast."

In the few passages for which we can make room we must confine ourselves chiefly to such as have something

of a narrative character—describing either the progress of the love-story or something else that had happened within the experience of the fair writer. Here is her account of her day at Chicksands:—"You ask me how I pass my time here. I can give you a perfect account, not only of what I do for the present, but what I am likely to do this seven years if I stay here so long. I rise in the morning reasonably early, and before I am ready I go round the house till I am weary of that, and then into the garden till it grows too hot for me. I then think of making me ready; and when that's done I go into my father's chamber; from thence to dinner, where my cousin, mother, and I sit in great state in a room and at a table that would hold a great many more. After dinner we sit and talk till Mr. P. comes in question, and then I am gone. The heat of the day is spent in reading or working; and about six or seven o'clock I walk out into a common that is hard by the house, where a great many young wenches keep sheep and cows, and sit in the shade singing of ballads; and go to them, and compare their voices and beauty to some ancient shepherdesses that I have read of, and find a vast difference there, but, trust me, I think these are as innocent as those could be. I talk to them, and find they want nothing to make them the happiest people in the world but the knowledge that they are so. Most commonly, while we are in the middle of our discourse, one looks about her, and spies her cows going into the corn, and then away they all run as if they had wings at their heels. I, that am not so nimble, stay behind, and when I see them driving home their cattle think it is time for me to return too. When I have supped I go into the garden, and so to the side of a small river that runs by it, where I sit down and wish you with me (you had best say this is not kind, neither). In earnest, it is a pleasant place, and would be more so to me if I had your company, as I sit there sometimes till I am lost with thinking; and, were it not for some cruel thoughts of the crossness of my fortune, that will not let me sleep there, I should forget there were such a thing to be done as going to

bed. . . . My father is reasonably well, but keeps his chamber still; but will hardly, I am afraid, ever be so perfectly recovered as to come abroad again." There is no mention of her mother in the extracts Mr. Courtenay has printed; but he tells us that she died while the correspondence was going on.

In two subsequent letters she urges with great seeming earnestness the expediency of giving up their engagement and changing their affection into mere friendship—a demonstration that must have alarmed poor Temple more than any thing else that could have happened, if, amid all her vehemence, it had not been evident enough from many of her expressions that she only deceived herself in supposing she had obtained such a victory over her passion. "I think I need not tell you," she says, "how dear you have been to me, nor that in your kindness I placed all the satisfaction of my life; 't was the only happiness I proposed to myself, and had set my heart so much upon it, that it was therefore made my punishment, to let me see that, how innocent soever I thought my affection, it was guilty in being greater than is allowable for things of this world. . . . We have lived hitherto upon hopes so airy, that I have often wondered how they could support the weight of our misfortunes; but passion gives a strength above nature; we see it in mad people, and, not to flatter ourselves, ours is but a refined degree of madness; what can it be else, to be lost to all things in the world but that singular object that takes up one's fancy, to lose all the quiet and repose of one's life in panting after it, when there is so little likelihood of ever gaining it, and so many more probable accidents that will infallibly make us miss of it; and, what is more than all, it is being mastered by that which reason and religion teach us to govern, and in that only gives us a pre-eminence above beasts? This soberly considered is enough to let us see our error; and consequently to persuade us to redeem it. . . . If, as we have not differed in any thing else, we could agree in this too, and resolve upon a friendship that will be much the perfecter for having nothing of passion in it, how

happy might we be, without so much as a fear of the change that any accident could bring; we might defy all that fortune could do, and, putting off all disguise and constraint with that which only made it necessary, make our lives as easy to us as the condition of this world will permit. I may own you as a person that I extremely value and esteem, and for whom I have a particular friendship, and you may consider me as one that will always be your faithful——." Again;—"If I loved you less I would allow you to be the same person to me, and I would be the same to you, as heretofore: but, to deal freely with you, that were to betray myself, and I find that my passion would quickly be my master again if I gave it any liberty; I am not secure that it would not make me do the most extravagant things in the world, and I shall be forced to keep a continual war alive with it as long as there are any remainders of it left; I think I might as well have said, as long as I lived."

This strain, however, is not long persevered in. Many subsequent letters breathe the most unreserved and longing affection. One, written when Temple was on the point of going out of England for a short time, concludes;—"For God's sake send me word how your journey goes forward, when you think you shall begin it, and how long it may last; when I may expect your coming this way; and, of all things, remember to provide a safe address for your letters when you are abroad." In another she says, "I shall not blush to tell you that you have made the whole world besides so indifferent to me, that, if I cannot be yours, they may dispose of me how they please. H. C. will be as acceptable to me as any body else." H. C. was no less a personage than Henry Cromwell, Oliver's second son. It appears from these letters that he was really one of Miss Osborne's suitors, or servants as she calls them, strange as it may be thought that he should have addressed himself to such a quarter. She seems to have regarded such an alliance as preposterous and out of the question in any circumstances. Yet some one, as she tells us in another letter, had described her in the following couplet:—

"Of stately and majestic brow,
Of force to make *Protectors* bow."

Here is a true touch of nature from another of these frank, warm-hearted communications:—"For God's sake, when we meet, let us design [appoint] one day to remember old stories in, to ask one another by what degrees our friendship grew to this height 't is at. In earnest, I am lost sometimes in thinking of it, and, though I can never repent of the share you have in my heart, I know not whether I gave it you willingly or not at first. No; to speak ingenuously, I think you got an interest there a good while before I thought you had any, and it grew so insensibly, and yet so fast, that all the traverses it has met with since have served rather to discover it to me than at all to hinder it."

Sir Peter Osborne at last died, in March, 1654, and this probably removed the chief obstacle to the marriage. But Temple's father, it would appear, still had his doubts and objections. In reference to these Miss Osborne writes, with becoming spirit:—"I would fain tell you that your father is mistaken; and that you are not, if you believe that I have all the kindness and tenderness for you my heart is capable of. Let me assure you, whatever your father thinks, that, had you 20,000*l.* a year, I could love you no more than I do, and should be far from showing it so much, lest it should look like a desire of your fortune, which as to myself I value as little as anybody breathing. I have not lived thus long in the world, and in this age of changes, but certainly I know what an estate is; I have seen my father's reduced [from] better than 4000*l.* to not 400*l.* a year, and I thank God I never felt the change in anything that I thought necessary. I never wanted, and am confident I never shall; yet I would not be thought so inconsistent a person as not to remember that it is expected from all people that have sense that they should act with reason; that to all persons some proportion of fortune is necessary, according to their several qualities. . . . If any accident out of my power should bring me to adversity, though

never so great, I should not doubt, with God's assistance, but to bear it as well as anybody, and I should never be ashamed on 't if He pleased to send it me ; but if by my own folly I had put it upon myself, the case would be extremely altered. If ever this comes to a treaty, I shall declare that in my own choice I prefer you much before any other person in the world, and all that this inclination, in the judgments of any persons of honour and discretion, will bear, I shall desire may be laid upon it, to the utmost of what they can allow ; and if your father please to make up the rest, I know nothing that is like to hinder me from being yours. But if your father, out of humour, shall refuse to treat with such friends as I have, let them be what they will, it must end here ; for, though I was content for your sake to lose them and all the respect they had for me, yet, now I have done that, I'll never let them see that I have so little interest in you and yours as not to permit that my brother may be admitted to treat for me. . . . I doubt much whether all this be sense or not, I find my head so heavy ; but that which I would say is in short this :—if I did say once that my brother should have nothing to do in it, 't was when his carriage towards me gave me such an occasion as I could justify the keeping that distance with him ; but, now it would look extremely unhandsome in me, sure I hope your father would not require it of me. . . . If your father would but in some measure satisfy my friends that I might but do it in any justifiable manner, you should dispose of me as you pleased. Carry me whither you would, all places of the world would be alike to me where you were."

At length, however, all difficulties were surmounted, and about October, 1654, as it would appear, the day that was to unite the two lovers was fixed. But before it arrived the lady was taken suddenly and dangerously ill ; so serious and alarming was the attack that the physicians, we are told, rejoiced when it appeared to be the small-pox, fatal as that disease then so often was. Dorothy Osborne recovered, but the lustre of her beauty was gone. It was something of a trial, no doubt, for

both, but far the hardest for the lady; however, she did not fear still to trust herself to an affection the strength of which had been so well proved, and they were married and made happy at last. The event probably took place about the end of the year 1654 or early in 1655.

The few remaining notices that we have of Dorothy Temple may be added here. Temple seems to have visited his father in Ireland more than once before his marriage; the first year they were together was passed by him and his wife in England, at the country-house of a friend, and here their eldest son was born. They then went over to reside in Ireland with Sir John Temple, with whom they spent five years, partly in Dublin, partly in the county of Carlow. During this time they lost five children in succession. Other children were afterwards born to them in England, nearly all of whom also died young. After this the two were sometimes together, sometimes separated for considerable intervals, the one in England, the other on the Continent. One letter more of hers has come down to us, written to Temple, who had been called away to England, and had left her at the Hague, in the end of October, 1670. It is interesting as showing the unabated affection that still subsisted between them, and also how completely this admirable woman made all her husband's concerns her own. "My dearest heart," she begins; concluding "I am my best dear's most affectionate D. T." They did not rejoin one another till the summer of the following year, when Temple was suddenly dismissed from his post of ambassador in Holland, whereupon a king's yacht was sent to bring home his wife. The ungrateful and unprincipled government by whom his services were thus requited, bribed and bought by France, was now determined to throw off the alliance with the Dutch; and with that view the captain of the yacht had orders, as he sailed through the Dutch fleet, either in going over or in returning, to fire into the ships nearest to him until they should either, in obedience to a pretension which had never before been admitted, strike their topsails by way of salute to the English flag,

or return his shot. What followed is thus abridged by Mr. Courtenay from Temple's own account :—" He saw nothing of the Dutch fleet in going over ; but on his return he fell in with it, and fired, without warning or ceremony, into the ships that were near to him. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, was puzzled ; he seemed not to know, and probably did not know, what the English captain meant. He therefore sent a boat, thinking it possible that the yacht might be in distress ; when the captain told his orders, mentioning also that he had the ambassadress on board. Van Ghent himself then came on board, with a handsome compliment to Lady Temple ; and, making his personal inquiries of the captain, received the same answer as before. The Dutchman said he had no orders upon the point, which he rightly believed to be still unsettled, and could not believe that the fleet, commanded by an admiral, was to strike to the king's pleasure-boat. When the admiral returned to his ship, the captain, also perplexed enough, applied to Lady Temple, who soon saw that he desired to get out of his difficulty by her help ; but the wife of Sir William Temple called forth the spirit which we have seen in Dorothy Osborne. He knew, she told the captain, his orders best, and what he was to do upon them, which she left him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her children." The Dutch admiral, however, did not imitate or retaliate the barbarous conduct of the English government ; the yacht was allowed to proceed on its course, and the lady was safely landed in England, where she was much applauded for the part she had acted, and was called upon to give an account of it to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the judge of the Court of Admiralty. When Temple went to the next levee, the king, he tells us, began to speak of his wife's carriage at sea, saying she had shown more courage than the captain. When his majesty then fell upon the insolence of the Dutch, Temple adroitly escaped from the ungrateful theme by remarking that, however matters should go, it must be confessed there was some merit in his family, since he had made the alliance with Holland (the famous

Triple Alliance of 1668), and his wife was like to have the honour of making the war. The king smiled, and so the conversation ended.

Temple, at the age of sixty-seven, lost his wife in the beginning of 1695, after a union of forty years. "She was," writes her sister-in-law, Lady Giffard, "a very extraordinary woman, as well as a good wife, of whom nothing more need be said to her advantage, than that she was not only much esteemed by her friends and acquaintance, some of whom were persons of the greatest figure, but valued and distinguished by such good judges of true merit as King William and Queen Mary, with whom (the Queen) she had the honour to keep a constant correspondence, being justly admired for her fine style and delicate turn of wit and good sense in writing letters; and whom she outlived about a month, the deep affliction for her majesty's deplorable death having hastened her own." But a few years before, in 1689, she had sustained what must have been a far severer blow—the loss of her son, the last of her children, who committed self-destruction.

Lady Temple is thus described by Swift in a poem on a dangerous illness from which Sir William recovered in December, 1693 :—

"Mild Dorothea, peaceful, wise, and great,
Trembling beheld the doubtful hand of fate;
Mild Dorothea, whom we both have long
Not dared to injure with our lowly song,
Sprung from a better world, and chosen then
The best companion for the best of men:
As some fair pile, yet spared by zeal and rage,
Lives pious witness of a better age;
So men may see what once was womankind
In the fair shrine of Dorothea's mind."

We must now return to follow Temple's public career. The Restoration drew him from his retirement; but only for a time. When, a few weeks before the king's arrival, a council of military officers in Dublin called an Irish Convention, he was chosen without his knowledge

member for the county of Carlow. This distinction he probably owed to the position and local influence of his father, who had some time previous, it would appear; gone over to resume his seat in the Long Parliament, restored by Monk, and had "by the friendship and favour of the General" got himself nominated one of the council of state. The younger Temple is said to have given proof in the Convention of great aptitude for business; he was sent over to England by that assembly with an address to Monk; and when a regular Irish parliament was summoned after the arrival of the king, he was again returned with his father for the county of Carlow, his younger brother, Sir John Temple, who was made solicitor-general, being elected for the borough of the same name. Both his talents for business and his powers as a persuasive speaker were now shown to greater advantage; and he appears to have acquired not only influence in the House, but popularity out of doors, by the fairness and patriotic firmness as well as the ability which he was thought to display. "Whilst every body," his sister relates in her biographical sketch, "was vying who should pay most court to the king, a Poll Bill was read. Though he and many others thought it the height of what the nation could bear, the Lords Justices, whilst it was debating, sent a message to the House to desire it might be doubled, which, amongst a great many that disliked it, Temple only opposed, though the rest afterwards joined with him. The Lords Justices, that heard whence the difficulty came, sent some to reason it with him; his answer was, that he had nothing to say to it out of the House, where they chose a time to pass it in his absence. This made a great deal of talk, and brought him into more conversation and business than he had been used to in that country." "He often," she tells us, "turned the House in their warmest debates by never entering into any of the parties or factions;" and she adds, "A considerable person, Sir John Perceval, illustrated his influence by observing that he was glad he was not a woman, as he was sure that Temple might have persuaded him to anything."

In July, 1661, he was sent over to England as one of a commission appointed to lay certain important matters relating to Ireland before his majesty; and it is stated that upon his return the Irish parliament voted him an extra reward for his services, besides what he had in common with his colleagues. This was the first time that Temple saw King Charles.

He was fortunate enough, at the same time, so to trim his course as not only not to offend the government, but to overcome whatever prejudice had been conceived against him from the conduct of his father at the commencement of the civil war. The Duke of Ormond, who had in those days (with the title of Marquess) held the post of Lord Lieutenant, and who was reappointed to his old office in 1661, received Temple coldly when they first met in London in July of that year; but they afterwards became very good friends in Dublin. Ormond declared that Temple was the only man in Ireland who never asked him for anything. And when the Irish parliament was prorogued in May, 1663, and Temple removed with his family to England, the Lord Lieutenant gave him letters of recommendation to Lord Clarendon and Lord Arlington, then the two principal ministers of the crown.

Temple quickly perceived that Clarendon's was the declining, Arlington's the ascending star; and from the first he attached himself to the latter. It was some time, however, before anything was found for him to do. At last in June, 1665, while he was residing in a small house he had purchased at Richmond (then more commonly called Sheen) he was roused one morning at four o'clock by a messenger from Arlington, who desired to see him in London immediately. We were then at war with the Dutch; and a German ecclesiastical potentate, the Bishop of Munster, had sent over a proposal, which had been accepted by the English ministry, that he would, upon the payment of a certain sum of money, invade Holland, to which his principality lay contiguous, with an army of 20,000 men. The treaty, by which it was agreed that the Bishop should have half a million of rix-

dollars, to be paid in three instalments, had already been signed; and Temple was to be dispatched forthwith as envoy or commissioner to keep the warlike ecclesiastic to his engagements, and also if possible to obtain the co-operation of others of the German princes. In this his first public employment, however, Temple's success was not at all in proportion to his zealous exertions. The Bishop had already received part of the money, when in January, 1666, war was openly declared against this country by France; upon which his views underwent a complete change, and within three months he had signed a secret treaty with the Dutch. Temple's conduct, nevertheless, was approved of at home; "His Majesty," Arlington wrote to him, "is entirely satisfied in your proceedings; and therefore, whatever your success has been in your journey, or whatever mortification your disappointment may give you, do not believe any of it is imputed to you, or to your want of good conduct and zealous affection to his majesty's service." The journey to which Arlington here alludes was a rapid transference of himself which he had accomplished from Munster to Brussels, with the object, in which he was successful, of intercepting a second instalment of the subsidy before the Bishop's agent should get hold of it. He had some time previously (in October, 1665) been appointed to proceed to and remain at Brussels as English resident at the vice-regal court there. He had also in January, 1666, been made a baronet.

The capital of the Netherlands accordingly now became his head-quarters. Soon after his arrival there he was joined by his wife and family, including his sister Martha Temple, who having been married, in April, 1662, to Sir Thomas Giffard, and left by him a widow in the following month, resided so long as he lived with her brother, whom, however, she survived many years. Meanwhile, the war went on; in the beginning of June, 1666, was fought the protracted but indecisive engagement between the English and Dutch fleets under the Duke of Albemarle and De Ruyter; and early in the following year Louis XIV. openly prepared to invade

Flanders. This latter movement, however, alarmed De Witt and the Dutch, the allies of the French king, almost as much as it did Spain, to which the menaced country belonged; Louis was a convenient ally for the present, but they had no desire that he should become a permanent neighbour. It was out of this state of things that the negotiations arose which issued in the conclusion of the famous Triple Alliance, the greatest of Temple's diplomatic achievements.

In July, 1667, treaties of peace were concluded at Breda, both between England and Holland, and between the English and the two allies of the Dutch, the French and the Danes. France and Spain, however, still remained at war; the French king did not delay making his advance upon Flanders; Charleroi, Douay, Oudenarde, Lille, and other towns fell one after the other into his hands in the summer of 1667; Brussels itself was threatened; and Temple thought it prudent to send his wife and children home to England. His sister, however, remained with him. He had hitherto, or nearly up to this time, entertained the common notions respecting the Dutch and De Witt which prevailed at the English court, and in the party to which he had attached himself, regarding the republic as the rival and national enemy of his country, and its Grand Pensionary, who had acquired the almost entire direction of its affairs, as little better than an agent of France. Recent events, however, and especially the manifest anxiety that De Witt had shown to avert the conquest of Flanders by the French king, had begun to change his opinions. We are told that it was his sister, Lady Giffard, who, from a strong wish that she had conceived to see Holland, induced him, in the latter end of August, 1667, to solicit permission to visit Amsterdam and the Hague. His request was granted; at the Hague he introduced himself to De Witt; and a confidential friendship commenced between the two, which lasted so long as both lived. In giving an account of their first interview in a dispatch from Dort, dated the 5th of October, published for the first time from the original in the State Paper

Office by Mr. Courtenay (who has neglected, however, to tell us to whom it is addressed), Temple says, "After above two hours discourse in private. . . . I left him, and judge him either to be a plain steady man, or very artificial in seeming so, more properly *homme de bon sens* than *homme d'esprit*, pointing still to that which is solid in business, and not to be imposed upon easily. These I take to be his talents; so that whoever deals with him must go the same plain way that he pretends to in his negotiations, without refining or colouring, or offering shadow for substance." He is confident, he adds, that De Witt is hearty in the point of defending Flanders, which he called in his discourse *le bon parti*.

Temple now strongly recommended to the English government the formation of such an alliance with Holland as should compel France and Spain to make peace. The course that affairs had recently taken at home gave this proposition a much better chance of being listened to than it would have had a short time before. Clarendon, looked upon as the chief supporter in the cabinet of the French interest, had been first dismissed from office and soon after sent into banishment; and even Arlington, whom this change left in the possession of almost undivided power, although he had been hitherto less unpopular than his late colleague, had reason to feel uneasy at the strong tone taken by the House of Commons on the subject of the late Dutch war. The consequence was that about the end of November instructions were received by Temple directing him to ascertain by conference with De Witt whether the States would really and effectively enter into a league offensive and defensive with England for the protection of the Spanish Netherlands, "and if the interests of both nations should require it, even against France itself." He was at the same time ordered to communicate with the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, the Spanish governor of the Netherlands, apprising him in general terms of his intention to converse with De Witt, and pressing him for an unreserved disclosure of the prospects and expectations of Spain. Temple now lost not a moment. First, he hastened to Antwerp, where

he saw the Marquis; then to the Hague, where he had a conference with De Witt; then, accompanied by his sister, to London with a report of his proceedings. On the 1st of January, 1668, the English government came to a resolution to the effect that an offensive league, which De Witt had objected to, should not be insisted upon, but that Temple should be commanded to propose to the States a *defensive* alliance, and a treaty by which France should be *obliged* to make peace upon certain terms, which Spain should be *persuaded* to accept. This was distinctly taking part with Spain and against France. Moreover, Spain was allowed her choice of two alternatives; namely, either that France should be left in possession of her conquests of the last campaign, or that she should give them up and receive instead certain other towns together with either Luxembourg or the county of Burgundy.

Temple now, accompanied as before by his sister, re-embarked for the Hague; the royal yacht in which he sailed was overtaken by a violent storm, and for thirty hours all on board had given themselves up for lost; but they at last got safe to port. He immediately had another long conference with De Witt, who advised him to see Count Dhona, the Swedish ambassador, and try whether Sweden could not be engaged to join the alliance. He went to the Count the same evening—dispensing with all ceremony, as he tells us, “by going straight into his chamber, and taking a chair before the Swede could rise out of his.” Dhona had no doubt that his government would be very ready to join. On this De Witt agreed to conclude a treaty, trusting to the future accession of Sweden. But a great difficulty was still to be surmounted; according to the forms of the Dutch constitution, the treaty could not be signed till it had first been sent round to all the States; and this would take up six weeks, before the expiration of which time the French, either by the further success of their military operations, or by dexterous diplomacy, and even bribery if need were, might ruin everything. He told De Witt therefore, that “unless the States-General would conclude

and sign the treaty immediately, and trust to the approbation of their several provinces and towns after it was done," he should "give it up for gone, and think no more of it." De Witt conceived that what was proposed was impossible; "no such thing had ever been done since the first institution of their commonwealth." Temple, after a formal audience of the States-General, was granted a conference with the eight commissioners of secret affairs; but it ended unsuccessfully. But on the next night, which was Saturday, De Witt and Isbrant, to whom the further conduct of the negotiation had been intrusted, agreed to every thing; and at eleven o'clock on Monday morning, the 23rd of January, 1668, the treaty was signed. "After sealing," says Temple, "we all embraced with much kindness, and applause of my saying, upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, ici comme frères* (At Breda as friends, here as brothers); and Monsieur De Witt made me a most obliging compliment of having the honour, which never any other minister had before me, of drawing the States to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and a *secours* of the greatest expense they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitutions, which enjoined them recourse to their provinces upon all such occasions, and used to draw out all common deliberations to a month's delay; and added upon it, that, now it was done, it looked like a miracle. I must add these words, to do him right, in return of his compliment, that I found him as plain, as direct and square, in the course of this business, as any man could be, though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country; and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him. And, for his industry, no man had ever more, I am sure; for these five days, at least, neither of us spent any idle hours, neither day nor night."

Such was the Triple Alliance of the Hague—"the master-piece of Charles's life," as Bishop Burnet, no admirer of Temple, styles it—"the only good public thing," says Pepys, writing at the time, "that hath been

done since the king came into England." It was followed by the effect intended: the French king desisted from the prosecution of the war; and within a few months a peace was concluded between France and Spain. The real importance of the Triple Alliance, which some recent writers, in opposition to what appears to have been the unanimous judgment of contemporary politicians, have been inclined to question, has been amply vindicated by Mr. Macaulay in a brilliant paper on Sir William Temple, which originally appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1888, and is reprinted in the third volume of his *'Historical and Critical Essays.'*

Temple was now empowered to proceed as ambassador to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the peace between France and Spain was to be finally arranged. He preferred, however, appearing only as envoy extraordinary. The treaty was at last signed on the 2nd of May.

In the latter part of the year 1666, it may be here mentioned, Temple had, while resident at Brussels, perpetrated, as far as is known, his first act of authorship by the publication of a pamphlet in French, under the title of *'The London Merchant's Letter to him of Amsterdam.'* It was written at the instigation of Arlington, with the object of exciting among the Dutch a jealousy of France and a feeling favourable to a peace with England. He states in one of his letters that it ran with some vogue at Antwerp, where it accorded with the predominant sentiment; and he was assured by Arlington that "it was allowed by his majesty to be very well written;" but no copy of it is now known to exist.

Immediately after Temple's return to Brussels from Aix-la-Chapelle, he was appointed to the post of Ambassador from the King of England to the States-General of Holland. Having first paid a short visit to London, he returned to the Continent in the end of August, and took up his residence at Ryswick, in the neighbourhood of the Hague. Here he remained till after what is called the Secret Money Treaty, by which Charles II. became a dependant and pensioner of France, had been signed at

Dover, in May, 1670, and other preparations had been made by the English government for a complete change of policy, when he was commanded to withdraw himself privately and come home, leaving his house standing as it was, and acquainting De Witt that it was his majesty's purpose to send him speedily back again. He arrived in London in October, when the reception he met with from his old friend Arlington, now confederated with Buckingham, Clifford, Ashley, and Lauderdale, at once confirmed his suspicions, and convinced him that he was not to return. It was not till June following, however, that he was formally displaced. Upon this he sent for his wife and family; and Lady Temple in coming over met with the adventure which has been already related.

The next three years were spent by the ex-ambassador in retirement. He was for some months of the year 1673 in Ireland with his father; his ordinary residence was at Sheen, where he had enlarged his grounds and improved his house, and where he amused his leisure with his garden and orchard, and employed his more serious hours in preparing some of the treatises on which his literary reputation rests. In 1668, before going to the Hague, he had written his 'Essay upon the present State and Settlement of Ireland,' which, however, was not published till 1701 (after his death): other tracts which he now drew up were, 'A Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Principal Powers of Europe, with their relation to England in the Year 1671,' first published in 1679; his 'Observations upon the United Provinces,' 1672, perhaps the most valuable of all his works; 'An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government;' 'An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland, written to the Earl of Essex, Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom,' 1673; a Letter entitled 'To the Duke of Ormond, written in October, 1673, upon his Grace's desiring me to give him my opinion what was to be done in that conjuncture' (after the commencement of the second Dutch war); and a 'Letter to the Countess of Essex,' written with the object of rousing her from the grief to which she had given way on

the death of her only daughter—a composition often referred to as displaying the highest qualities of Temple's flowing, animated, and sometimes stately style.

When in the beginning of 1674 the course of events had brought both Holland and England to a condition in which it became desirable or necessary that an end should be put to the war which they had been carrying on with one another for nearly two years, Temple's services were again called into requisition for the negotiation of a peace. But while he was preparing to proceed to the Hague, as envoy and plenipotentiary, the Marquis del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at the English court, received full powers from the Dutch; and what is known as the Treaty of Westminster was arranged here between him and Temple in three days. It was signed on the 19th of February, 1624.

Temple was now offered the embassy to Spain, which, however, he declined, at the instance, it is said, of his father, who, for some unknown reason, was violently opposed to his accepting it. Arlington then persuaded him to buy from him (as was then the practice) his office of Secretary of State, which he wanted to exchange for that of Chamberlain; but, although Temple could probably have obtained the royal nomination to the office through the interest of the new Lord High Treasurer, Danby, who was a relation of his wife, and had also been an old acquaintance of his own, and although his friends offered to lend him the 6000*l.* required to be paid to his predecessor, he would not accede to the proposal. "I have seen such changes at court," he wrote to his father, "that I know not what to make of this last, and still remember poor De Witt's words of *fluctuation perpétuelle dans les conseils d'Angleterre*, which of all things in the world I am not made for, and would rather break my head with going on than be wrenching myself continually with sudden turns." At last in May, 1674, he was again appointed to his old post of ambassador at the Hague; and thither he repaired in the succeeding July.

He remained in Holland for the next two years. That republic, where M. Fagel had succeeded to De Witt as

Grand Pensionary, but where the chief direction of affairs was now in the hands of the young William, Prince of Orange, restored to the stadtholdership on the repeal of the Perpetual Edict, which had abolished that dignity, and the massacre of De Witt and his brother, in 1672, was still, in conjunction with Spain and the Empire, at war with France. Temple was instructed to offer the mediation of the King of England in the arrangement of a general peace. It was not, however, till August, 1678, that this was accomplished by the treaty concluded between France and Holland at Nimeguen, to which Spain and the Emperor afterwards acceded. Temple had been appointed representative for England to the congress at Nimeguen, in March, 1675; and he had proceeded thither in July of the following year. The Hague, however, continued to be his principal residence. It was now that his intimacy commenced with the Prince of Orange. "William," Lady Giffard relates, "who was fond of speaking English, and of their plain manner of eating, which Temple always continued abroad as well as at home, grew into so easy and familiar conversation in his family, that he constantly dined there, and commonly supped twice a week in his house, while he remained at the Hague. The company was always chosen of those who were most agreeable to the prince; and with this conversation, and so much besides as passed in business and ceremony, Sir William grew very much into the Prince's esteem and confidence." The marriage which afterwards took place between William and the Princess Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, was a favourite scheme of Temple's, and was strongly recommended by him to the prince early in 1676. The marriage was brought about in November of the following year.

In the spring of 1675 Temple was suddenly sent for to England by the king, who apparently wanted his assistance to reconcile his two ministers Arlington and Danby, now become open and violent enemies. But in this matter he was able to effect nothing; and he returned to the Hague after an absence of about six weeks. He soon after quarrelled himself, and broke finally, with his old

friend and first patron Arlington, who he conceived had used him ill in inducing the king to send over Sir Gabriel Silvius in the character of confidential agent to the Hague, with the object of learning through him more of the Prince's mind than had been ascertained from the regular ambassador. "This good usage," says Temple, "ended all correspondence between Lord Arlington and me, which had lasted by letters to this time, though coldly since my being last in England. But upon Sir Gabriel Silvius's coming to the Hague in January (1676), and my preparations to go to Nimeguen, I ended that scent, having not learned enough of the age, nor of the court I lived in, to act an insincere part, either in friendship or in love."

In June, 1677, another offer of the post of secretary of state was made to Temple at the instance of the king himself, who offered to advance one half of the sum—now ten thousand pounds—which was demanded by Henry Coventry, the present holder, as the price of his resignation. Temple came over to England and had an interview on the subject with his majesty, who would not at first listen to his objections. "Go, get you gone to Sheen," he said; "we shall have no good of you till you have been there; and when you have rested yourself come up again." Within two days, however, Coventry changed his mind; and Charles was then persuaded not to press the matter for the present. Temple remained about a year in England, during which he was consulted by the king upon all the highest affairs of state, both foreign and domestic.

He returned to the Hague in July, 1677; and on the 26th of that month concluded a new treaty with the States, "by which," to quote his own account, "France was obliged to declare, within 14 days after the date thereof, that they would evacuate the Spanish towns; or, in case of their refusal, Holland was engaged to go on with the war, and England immediately to declare it against France, in conjunction with Holland and the rest of the confederation." He then proceeded to Nimeguen, and was present at the treaty of peace executed there

between the Dutch and French on the 10th of August. The general peace was concluded at Nimeguen on the 5th of February, 1679; but, although Temple had made another journey thither on that occasion, the imperial ambassador refused to allow precedence to him and Sir Leoline Jenkins, the other English mediator, and their signatures were consequently not affixed to the treaty.

Meanwhile, a week or two before, Temple had again been offered the place of secretary of state, and had again declined it. "The sensible decays I feel of late in myself," he wrote to Danby on the 24th of January, "and which must increase every day with my age and ill health, make me absolutely despair of acquitting myself as I ought, and would be necessary for his majesty's service, in a post that requires not only great abilities, but good health and all the application that can be. Neither of which I can either ways promise either his majesty or myself." But this excuse would not serve. A letter of recall was sent to him on the 11th of February, and by the end of that month he was again in England. He appears now to have hesitated for a moment; but he soon returned to his first resolution. The state of public affairs, with the popular mind inflamed by the Popish Plot, and a new parliament about to assemble, in addition to the chronic disorganization of the court and the government, was too formidable. So he managed to escape by first representing very strongly how necessary it was that the new secretary should be in parliament, and then taking care that his pretended attempts to obtain a seat should fail. "I concluded it," he says, "a scene unfit for such actors as I knew myself to be, and resolved to avoid the secretary's place, or any other public employment at home, my character abroad still continuing." It was not only, in truth, that he was constitutionally cautious and wary, and averse to every kind of danger and contest; the field of diplomacy had now become his world, and no other theatre of ambition had the same attraction for him.

Although, however, he would take no office of respon-

sibility in the government, he was induced in the course of his private conferences with the king to submit a project which makes almost as memorable a passage in his political career as the Triple Alliance. This was his new scheme of a privy council, to supersede at once the actually existing body so called, which, as in our own day, had become too numerous for its nominal purpose, and also the closet or cabinet council, to which the entire actual exercise of the government had come to be intrusted, but which Temple considered to consist of too few persons to wield that power with proper influence and effect. He proposed that the new council should be composed of thirty persons, fifteen of them the great officers of state and of the household, the other fifteen the most distinguished and especially the most opulent individuals that could be found in the two houses of parliament without regard to party. The idea was adopted by Charles, and the new system of government was set up towards the end of April, 1679.

Mr. Macaulay, in the paper to which we have already referred, has given a new view of this plan of Temple's, which is at least in the highest degree ingenious and plausible. He argues that Temple's design must have been that his new council should serve as a substitute for the parliament rather than merely for the old cabinet, or at least that it should form a barrier or breakwater between the parliament and the crown. It proved, however, a complete failure, and, although it was formally kept up for nearly two years, it was substantially abandoned almost as soon as it had been tried.

Here Temple's public life may be said to close. He was himself one of the members of the council of thirty : but he very soon found himself a cipher among bolder and more unscrupulous men. Before it came to this, however, he had again declined the office of secretary of state. He got himself returned to the new parliament, which met in October, 1679, for the university of Cambridge ; but he took very little part in the debates. "I went not often," he says, "to the house or council ; but when I did, and thought it to any purpose, I endeavoured

to allay the heats on either side, and told the king I expected to be turned out of the house in the morning, and out of the council in the afternoon. Mr. Hyde (Lawrence Hyde, Clarendon's youngest son, afterwards Viscount Hyde and Earl of Rochester) asked me one day in the council chamber, why I came so seldom to the house or council. I told him it was upon Solomon's advice, neither to oppose the mighty, nor to go about to stop the current of a river; upon which he said I was a wise and quiet man, and, if it were not for some circumstances he could not help, he would do so too." When this parliament was dissolved in January, 1681, and a new one summoned to meet at Oxford, he consulted the king as to whether he should stand again. Charles told him, "in a manner kind and familiar," as he says, but significantly enough too, we may suspect, that, considering how matters stood, he doubted whether he would be of much use in the house. In a week after his name was struck out of the list of privy councillors.

In 1679, Temple collected several of his tracts that have already been mentioned, and published them, together with 'An Essay upon the Cure of the Gout by Moxa,' which he had addressed in June, 1677, to M. de Zulichem, under the title of 'Miscellanea; the First Part.' The same year he printed privately a little volume of his poetical compositions. In April, 1683, he commenced the writing of his 'Memoirs;' the First Part of which, however, extending from 1665 to 1671, he afterwards destroyed. The Second Part extending from 1672 to 1679, and the Third, extending from 1679 to February, 1681, were published after his death; the former in 1691, the latter in 1709.

He continued to reside for some years at Sheen, "without," we are told, "ever seeing the town or court." He still, however, presented himself occasionally in the royal circle when the king came to Richmond, both in the time of Charles and in that of his successor. In November, 1686, he removed to Moor Park, near Farnham, a small retired place which he had recently purchased. He had no part in the consultations and

arrangements which brought about the Revolution, nor had he even been made aware of the design; but after the Prince of Orange came over, he visited his old friend two or three times, and even pressed him, though unsuccessfully, to take office as secretary of state. Though Temple was at this time only sixty years of age, his constitution was much shattered by gout and other ailments, and some severe domestic sorrows increased his inclination for retirement and repose. Of nine children that he and his wife had had, only one, a son, now remained to them. They had lost the last, a girl of fourteen, by small-pox, in 1680: Lady Giffard says she was a child her father was infinitely fond of, and one than whom none ever more deserved a father's love. This was followed in 1689 by the death of his son, John Temple, already alluded to. He had been married in 1684 to the daughter and heiress of M. Duplessis Rambouillet, a French Protestant gentleman of distinguished family and great wealth; upon the Revolution he was appointed secretary-at-war; and within a week afterwards he threw himself into the Thames.

It was about this time that Jonathan Swift, who is supposed to have been distantly related to Lady Temple through his mother, came to reside with Sir William Temple as his amanuensis. With the exception of a visit which he paid to Ireland, about three years after he first entered the family, he continued to fill this office so long as Temple lived, and ultimately acquired a large share of his confidence.

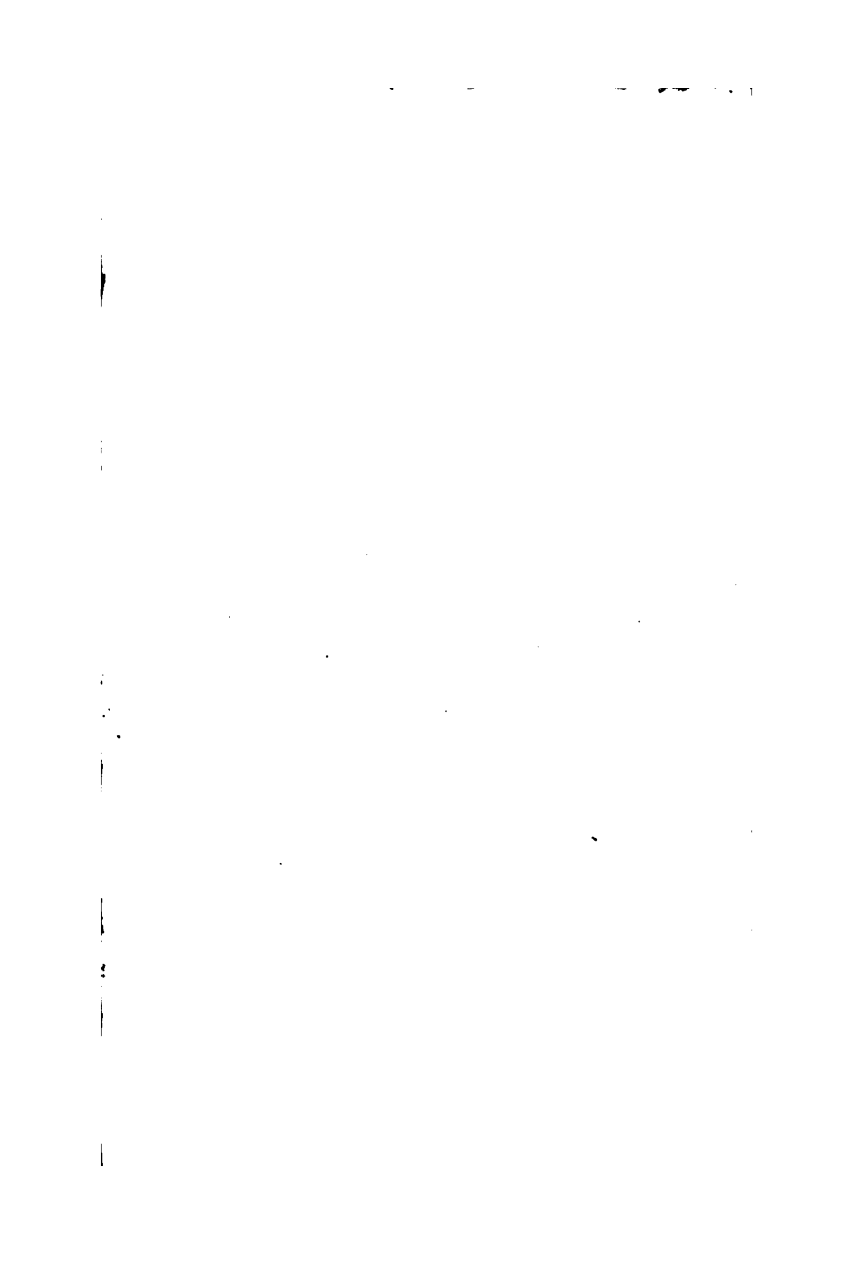
In 1691 Temple published a Second Part of his 'Miscellanea,' containing, among other tracts, his essays 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, or Of Gardening' (written in 1685), 'On Heroic Virtue,' 'On Poetry,' and 'Upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.' The last, which was a defence of the ancients against Perrault's 'Parallel between the Ancients and Moderns,' and some other recent French publications in which it had been attempted to show that the genius of the moderns excelled that of the ancients, is memorable in the history of literature from the controversy of learning

and wit by which it was followed—producing Bentley's 'Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris,' on the one side, and Swift's 'Battle of the Books,' and 'Tale of a Tub,' on the other—but in which Temple himself took no part except by preparing part of a reply to his original assailant, William Wotton, under the title of 'Some Thoughts upon reviewing the Essay of Ancient and Modern Learning,' which was not published till after his death. In 1693, we may also mention, a passage in his recently printed 'Memoirs' drew down upon him a scurrilous attack from a M. De Cros, who had been an agent from the court of Sweden at the Congress of Nimeguen. De Cros's pamphlet drew forth two anonymous answers, one of which at least has been generally believed to have been written by Temple himself. Swift has been thought to have had a hand in the other.

The last of Temple's pieces published in his lifetime was his short 'Introduction to the History of England,' a performance of very little value, which appeared in 1695. Early in this year, as already mentioned, Temple lost his admirable wife. He himself died at Moor Park, on the 27th of January, 1699, in his seventy-first year. His son John left two daughters, Dorothy and Elizabeth, both of whom were married; the former to Nicholas Bacon, Esq., of Shrubland Hall in Suffolk; the latter to her cousin, John Temple, son of Sir John Temple, her father's younger brother. Mrs. Temple left no surviving issue; and Mrs. Bacon had only a son, the Rev. Nicholas Bacon, vicar of Coddendam in Suffolk, who was also the last of his race.

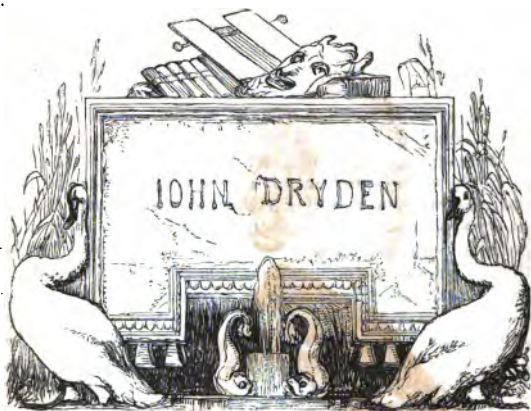
A collection of Temple's Letters written while he was ambassador at the Hague had been published in 1699, immediately after his death, by a Mr. David Jones. Soon after Swift published his first Collection, in two volumes, embracing the period from 1665 to 1672; and in 1703 his second, in a third volume, bringing down the series to 1679. In 1701, also, Swift sent to the press a Third Part of the 'Miscellanea,' containing an 'Essay on Popular Discontents,' another 'On Health and Long Life,' the unfinished 'Thoughts upon reviewing the

Essay of Ancient and Modern Learning, already mentioned, 'Heads designed for an Essay upon the different Conditions of Life and Fortune,' 'Heads designed for an Essay on Conversation,' and a few short poetical compositions. It was likewise under Swift's care that the Third Part of the 'Memoirs' was given to the world in 1709.





DRYDEN.



THE class of our English poets to which Dryden belongs is not the highest ; it must be placed below the class comprising Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton ; but he is the founder of his own school, and, on the whole, perhaps he may be allowed to stand at its head in the order of excellence as well as in the order of time. At the least, he stands there with only Pope by his side.

John Dryden was born in 1631, it is conjectured on or about the 9th of August, at the parsonage house of Oldwinkle (or Aldwinkle) All-Saints, a village a few miles to the north-west of the town of Oundle, in Northamptonshire. The family of Dryden, or Driden, as the name used more commonly to be spelt, is traced to the county of Cumberland. John Dryden, the great-grandfather of the poet, was the first of them who settled in Northamptonshire, where he acquired the estate of Canons Ashby by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Cope. It is said that this John

Dryden enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus, and that the illustrious scholar stood godfather to one of his sons. If so, it was probably to the eldest, who received the name of Erasmus, and who was made a baronet by James I. His third son also bore the name of Erasmus. This was the father of the poet, of another Erasmus, who eventually inherited the baronetcy and family estate, and of two more sons and ten daughters. Their mother was Mary, daughter of the Reverend Henry Pickering, who is stated to have been minister of Aldwinkle, from 1647 to 1657, when he died at the age of seventy-three. But the circumstance of Dryden having been born in the parsonage-house would seem to indicate that his maternal grandfather's incumbency had begun many years earlier than this account would make it to have done. The Reverend Henry Pickering was the younger son of a Sir Gilbert Pickering, who is said to have been in considerable favour with James I. Yet the Pickerings were furious puritans, and the Drydens also held the same principles. The families were connected otherwise as well as through the poet's mother; a sister of his father had married Sir John Pickering, the eldest brother of the minister of Aldwinkle. Sir Gilbert Pickering, son of Sir John, was one of the judges of Charles I., and was afterwards made by Cromwell Lord Chamberlain of the Household and a member of his House of Peers.

Dryden is believed to have been first sent to school at Tichmarsh, or Tickmarsh, in his native county. He was afterwards admitted a king's scholar at Westminster, under Dr. Busby; and he was still there when in 1649 he produced his first performance in verse, his poem on the Death of Henry, Lord Hastings. It was one of ninety-eight elegies on the same subject, which were all published together the following year, under the title of '*Lachrymæ Musarum*.'

Dryden's verses are highly curious. At his age he inevitably imitated the reigning style, which was what he himself afterwards baptized the metaphysical style of poetry—originally, perhaps, a derivation from the subtleties and refinements of the scholastic philosophy, through

the medium of the punning and quibbling divines, casuists, and other prose writers of the time of Elizabeth and James—and first brought into vogue by Donne in the last age, from whom it was now perpetuated by Cleveland, Cowley, and their imitators. It caught and enveloped almost everybody as well as Dryden—writers and readers, young and old alike. Milton alone entirely escaped; by nothing else is it shown more strikingly that “his soul was like a star, and moved apart.” Perhaps what put it down at last was its lucky adoption by Butler in his *Hudibras*, for the subject and sort of writing to which it is really appropriate. After such an example, it could not long continue to be employed in serious composition.

The truest description that can be given of Dryden's poem is to say, that it is a serious poem in the style of *Hudibras*. The principal difference is that the lines are of ten syllables instead of eight. The thoughts are quite as far-fetched, the images as multifarious and grotesque, as those which Butler accumulates for the purposes of satire and drollery.

Lord Hastings was cut off by small-pox, on the eve of his intended nuptials; and the verses are in part addressed to his betrothed bride. Here are some of them:

Was there no milder way but the small-pox,
The very filthiness of Pandora's box?
So many spots, like naeves on Venus' soil,
One jewel set off with so many a foil;
Blisters with pride swelled, which through's flesh did
sprout,
Like rose-buds stuck i' the lily skin about.
Each little pimple had a tear in it,
To wail the fault its rising did commit;
Which, rebel-like, with its own lord at strife,
Thus made an insurrection 'gainst his life.
Or were these gems sent to adorn his skin,
The cabinet of a richer soul within?
No comet need foretell his change drew on,
Whose corpse might seem a constellation.

Yet, with all its extravagance and absurdity, the poem

could not be read without its being felt to betoken no common power, especially in so young a writer. The absurdity, in such a case, must be laid to the charge of the time, not of the poet. And the very height to which Dryden here carried his imitation of his bad models gave proof of the fervour and boldness of his genius.

Ere long, too, he broke away from the enticements of this fantastic, unnatural, and false style. After his first perpetration he sinned no more in the same way, or at least to the same excess. In May, 1650, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, on a Westminster scholarship; and he remained at the University till the summer of 1657. Meanwhile the death of his father, in June, 1654, had put him in possession of a small landed property near Blakesley, in Northamptonshire, which yielded him about sixty pounds a year for the present, besides about half as much more which he would inherit on the death of his mother. The only degree he took at Cambridge, notwithstanding the length of his residence, is stated to have been that of Bachelor of Arts, in January, 1654. Yet in the patent appointing him Poet Laureat (1670) he is styled "John Dryden, Master of Arts."

On leaving college Dryden seems to have come up to London, and to have taken up his residence for a time with his flourishing relative Sir Gilbert Pickering. It has been supposed that he was employed by Sir Gilbert in the capacity of amanuensis or secretary.

His next poem was produced in the latter end of the year 1658, his 'Heroic Stanzas on the Death of Oliver Cromwell.' Its style is wholly free from the peculiar vices of the elegy on Lord Hastings; but if it has none of the forced thought and expression of his earliest manner, it wants also the force of thought and expression of his latest. The form, too, is one to which his genius was ill-suited. The confinement of the heroic line in quatrains, each complete in itself, is almost as destructive of its animation and variety, its "full resounding march and energy divine," as would be the making every couplet a

distinct stanza. The quatrain may suit a trim, precise, step-picking, poetical genius, such as that of Sir John Davies; but is not nearly spacious enough for the impetuosity and splendid recklessness of Dryden. To afford full scope for a style of any breadth or abundance, it requires to be expanded into the interwoven double quatrain and annexed couplet of Spenser or Byron, where the regular flow of the melody is varied ever and anon, by the prolonged swell or the sudden break.

This poem upon the death of Cromwell, however, may be regarded as exemplifying Dryden's second manner. It is substantially the same with that of his 'Astræa Redux; or the Happy Restoration and Return of his Sacred Majesty, Charles II. ;' 1660; his 'Panegyric of the Coronation' of Charles the same year; and his 'Annus Mirabilis; the Year of Wonders,' 1666; although only the last is written in quatrains or the elegiac stanza. It is a careful and occasionally stately manner, but without much life or fire at the best, and becoming not unfrequently ponderous, languid, and drawing. The 'Annus Mirabilis,' however, contains a good deal of elaborate and ambitious writing, and was by much the highest effort its author had yet made. It appears to have been the first of his poems that brought him into general notice.

It will be perceived from the titles of some of the pieces we have just named that Dryden had now left his original political party. The Restoration had of course terminated his secretaryship with Sir Gilbert Pickering; and he probably worked for a time for the booksellers; but he was soon fortunate enough to find a new patron in Sir Robert Howard, a younger son of the Earl of Berkshire, who, besides the influence that his services and connections gave him under the new state of things, was himself a person of literary and poetical tastes, and as such capable of appreciating the merits of the young poet. The 'Annus Mirabilis' was prefaced by a long letter to Howard, giving an account of the poem, in which Dryden says: "You have not only been careful of my fortune, which was the effect of your nobleness,

but you have been solicitous of my reputation, which is that of your kindness." "It is not long," he adds, "since I gave you the trouble of perusing a play for me; and now, instead of an acknowledgment, I have given you a greater, in the correction of a poem."

It was some years before this that Dryden had commenced dramatic writer. His first piece, the 'Wild Gallant,' was produced in the beginning of the year 1663, and met with so mortifying a reception that he resolved never more to write for the stage. The hasty resolutions of anger are seldom kept, and are seldom worth keeping; but in the present instance it would have been well had he adhered to the first dictates of his resentment. We should not then have had to regret that so large a portion of a great writer's life and labour should have been wasted on twenty-eight dramas: the comedies exhibiting much ribaldry and but little wit; with neither ingenuity nor interest in the fable; with no originality in the characters: the tragedies for the most part filled with the exaggerations of romance, and the hyperboles of an extravagant imagination, in the place of nature and pathos. His tragedy seldom touches the passions: his staple commodities are pompous language, poetical flights, and picturesque description. His characters all speak in one language—that of the author. Addison says, "It is peculiar to Dryden to make all his personages as wise, witty, elegant, and polite as himself." But however uncongenial with his natural talent dramatic composition might be, his temporary disgust soon passed away. In his 'Essay on Dramatic Poetry,' he tells his patron, Dorset, that the writing of that treatise served as an amusement to him in the country, when he was driven from London by the plague; that he diverted himself with thinking on the theatres, as lovers do by ruminating on their absent mistresses. But whatever opinion he might entertain of his own tragic style, he was himself sensible that his talents did not lie in the line of comedy. "Those who decry my comedies do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: reputation in them is the last thing to which I shall pretend." He retaliated

on the criticisms levelled against his extravagances in tragedy, by an ostentatious display of defiance. We find in his Dedication of the 'Spanish Friar,' "All that I can say for certain passages of my own 'Maximin' and 'Almanzor' is, that I knew they were bad enough to please when I wrote them."

In 1671 he was publicly ridiculed on the stage in the Duke of Buckingham's comedy of the 'Rehearsal.' The character of Bayes was at first named Bilboa, and meant for Sir Robert Howard; but the representation of the piece in its original form was stopped by the plague in 1665: it was not reproduced till six years afterwards, when it appeared with alterations in ridicule of the pieces brought out in the interval, and with a correspondent change of the hero. Dryden affected to despise the satire. In the Dedication to his Translation of Juvenal, he says, "I answered not to the 'Rehearsal,' because I knew the author sat to himself when he drew the picture, and was the very Bayes of his own farce."

Even in his rhymed plays, however, the fluent and vigorous harmony of Dryden's verse is sometimes displayed with great effect, and, in the absence of all true dramatic spirit, the declamation is eloquent and imposing. The comedy of 'The Wild Gallant' was followed by the tragi-comedy of 'The Rival Ladies,' in 1663; the tragedy of 'The Indian Emperor,' in 1665; the comedy of 'Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen,' in 1667; the comedy of 'Sir Martin Mar-all' (improved from a translation of Molière's *L'Etourdi*, executed by the Duke of Newcastle), the tragedy of 'The Royal Martyr, or Tyrannic Love,' and the comedy of 'An Evening's Love, or the Mock Astrologer,' in 1668; the two parts of the tragedy of 'The Conquest of Granada' (the second otherwise entitled 'Almanzor and Almahide'), both in 1671; the comedies of 'Marriage Alamode' and 'The Assignment,' and also the tragedy of 'Amboyna,' in 1673; the opera of 'The State of Innocence and Fall of Man' (founded on Milton's *Paradise Lost*), in 1674 (never acted); the tragedy of 'Aurengzebe,' in 1675; that of 'All for Love,

or the *World Well Lost*' (founded on Shakspeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*), and the comedy of 'The Kind Keeper, or Mr. Limberham,' in 1678; the tragedies of 'Edipus, King of Thebes' and of 'Troilus and Cressida' (altered from Shakspeare), in 1679; the tragic-comedy of 'The Spanish Friar,' in 1681; the tragedy of 'The Duke of Guise' (in conjunction with Lee), in 1683; the opera of 'Albion and Albanius,' in 1685; the tragedy of 'Don Sebastian,' in 1690; the comedy of 'Amphitryon, or the Two Sosias' (founded on Plautus and Molière), and the dramatic opera of 'King Arthur, or the British Worthy' (a sequel to *Albion and Albanius*), in 1691; the tragedy of 'Cleomenes, or the Spartan Hero,' in 1692; and, lastly, the tragic-comedy of 'Love Triumphant,' in 1694. It thus appears that he continued to write for the stage with little intermission till nearly the close of his life.

In 1665 Dryden had married the Lady Elizabeth Howard, eldest daughter of the Earl of Berkshire and sister of his friend Sir Robert Howard. This was an inauspicious connection from the beginning. It is said that the lady's noble relations were at first opposed to the match, as was natural enough; but any resentment her father and brother at least may have felt does not appear to have lasted very long; the Dedication of the '*Annus Mirabilis*,' written in November, 1666, is not only, as we have seen, evidence of the friendly feeling subsisting between the poet and Sir Robert, but is dated from Charlton, in Wiltshire, the earl's seat. He seems, however, to have derived little of either worldly advantage or much satisfaction in any other way from his high alliance. He got only a small property in Wiltshire, yielding him not more than fifty or sixty pounds a year, with Lady Elizabeth; and in herself she turned out but an indifferent bargain. "It is difficult," observes Sir Walter Scott, in a remarkable passage, "for a woman of a violent temper and weak intellects, and such the lady seems to have been, to endure the apparently causeless fluctuation of spirits incident to one doomed to labour incessantly in the feverish exercise of the imagination. Un-

intentional neglect, and the inevitable relaxation or rather sinking of spirit, which follows violent mental exertion, are easily misconstrued into capricious rudeness or intentional offence; and life is embittered by mutual accusation, not the less intolerable because reciprocally just. The wife of one who is to gain his livelihood by poetry, or by any labour (if any there be) equally exhausting, must either have taste enough to relish her husband's performances or good nature sufficient to pardon his infirmities. It was Dryden's misfortune that Lady Elizabeth had neither the one nor the other; and I dismiss the disagreeable subject by observing, that on no one occasion when a sarcasm against matrimony could be introduced, has our author failed to season it with such bitterness as spoke an inward consciousness of domestic misery."

The 'Essay of Dramatic Poesy' mentioned above, was published by Dryden in 1667 or 1668. It is in the form of a dialogue, in which the speakers are Lord Buckhurst, Sir Charles Sedley, Sir Robert Howard, and the author, under feigned names; and its principal object is the defence of tragedies in rhyme. The same question had been more slightly discussed before by our author in the Dedication of his play of the 'Rival Ladies,' in which the tragic scenes were in rhyme and the comic in blank verse; that Dedication had been replied to by Sir Robert Howard; and now in the 'Essay of Dramatic Poesy' Sir Robert was made the champion not only of the side he had then taken up, but of every other opinion which the Essay was designed to confute and demolish. Not at all flattered by such treatment, Sir Robert, in the preface to his play of 'The Duke of Lerma,' published soon after, attacked the Essay with some asperity, and in a tone of rather offensive hauteur. Scott thinks it not improbable that some dislike to the alliance of Dryden as a brother-in-law may have mingled with his jealousy as a poet and critic. At all events, the controversy certainly engendered some bitterness or soreness of feeling between them, and occasioned at least a temporary alienation, which perhaps never entirely gave

way to a return of their old cordiality. Dryden answered Sir Robert's preface in a 'Defence of the Essay of Dramatic Poesy,' which he prefixed to a second edition of his 'Indian Emperor,' published in 1668, and in which he kept no reserve, but assailed his luckless opponent with all his powers both of argument and ridicule. He declared, indeed, in the conclusion that he honoured his parts and person as much as any man living, and had so many particular obligations to him that he should be very ungrateful not to acknowledge them to the world; "yet the personal and contemptuous severity of the whole piece," says Scott, "must have cut to the heart so proud a man as Sir Robert Howard. This quarrel between the baronet and the poet, who was suspected of having crutched up many of his lame performances, furnished food for lampoon and amusement to the indolent wits of the day. But the breach between the brothers-in-law, though wide, proved fortunately not irreconcilable; and towards the end of Dryden's literary career we find him again upon terms of friendship with the person by whom he had been befriended at its commencement." It appears that in a letter to Tonson the bookseller, written in 1696, Dryden reckons upon Sir Robert Howard's assistance in regard to some pecuniary arrangement. But this might be without there being much intimacy between them. The manner in which Sir Robert's brother Edward Howard, who was also a writer of plays, and who had entered as warmly as Sir Robert into the controversy about rhyming tragedies, expresses, about the same date, his high and indeed extravagant admiration of Dryden's genius, would rather imply that there was but little intercourse between the families. In his 'Proem to an Essay on Pastoral,' published in 1695, this Honourable Edward Howard writes, absurdly enough:—"I am informed Mr. Dryden is now translating of Virgil; and, although I must own it is a fault to forestall or anticipate the praise of a man in his labours, yet, by the greatness of the work, and the vast capacity of the author, I cannot here forbear saying, that Mr. Dryden, in the translating of Virgil, will of a certain

make Maro speak better than ever Maro thought." This very wise gentleman goes on to say, as if to prove his competency to speak with authority on such subjects:—"The two elaborate poems of Blackmore and Milton, the which, for the dignity of them, may very well be looked upon as the two grand exemplars of poetry, do either of them exceed and are more to be valued than all the poets both of the Romans and Greeks put together." However, it seems that, in testimony of total amnesty between Dryden and the Howards, the 'Defence of the Essay' was cancelled; so that copies of the original edition are now of the extremest rarity.

It was upon his connexion with the theatre that Dryden principally depended for the means of existence during a great part of his life. Soon after the performance of his 'Indian Emperor,' in 1665, he entered into a contract with the King's Company, then playing in Drury Lane, by which he engaged to furnish them with three plays a year, in consideration of which he was admitted to hold a share and a quarter in the profits of the theatre; this, the company afterwards affirmed, commonly produced him three or four hundred pounds a year; and the money was regularly paid to him, although, with all his industry and fertility, he did not supply half, or more than a third of the number of plays he had undertaken to write. "Though he received the money," they say in a memorial addressed to the Lord Chamberlain, "we received not the plays—not one in a year." In August, 1670, Dryden's income was further increased by his being appointed to the two offices of Royal Historiographer and Poet Laureate, which had become vacant, the former by the death of James Howell in 1666, the latter by that of Sir William Davenant in 1668. The two offices brought him a salary of 200*l.* a-year, besides his butt of Canary; and the grant was made to take effect from the date of Davenant's demise. It is probable, however, that, like the other court salaries and pensions of that period, Dryden's was not very regularly paid; and his contract with the players seems not to have yielded him latterly nearly so much as at

first, so that about 1678 he declined going on with it any longer. From this date he wrote for the Duke's company, acting in Dorset Gardens, Salisbury Court, till the union of the two companies, and their joint occupation of the new theatre in Drury Lane in 1682.

His controversy about rhyming tragedies with Sir Robert Howard, and his exhibition on the stage in the Duke of Buckingham's farce of the 'Rehearsal,' make only a small part of the history of Dryden's quarrels with his brother authors. One of the persons by whom Buckingham had been assisted in the 'Rehearsal,' was a Martin Clifford, who afterwards became Master of the Charter-house; this man, who is said to have been a scholar, but evidently had not the mind of one, published a violent and scurrilous attack upon Dryden's poetry, in four letters, the last of which is dated from the Charter-House, in 1672, and which appear to have been originally published at different times, but the only edition of which now known is of the year 1687. Dryden did not deign to take any notice of Clifford, although the letters, and some other pieces in a similar strain, which appeared about the same time, provoked replies from several of the poet's friends and admirers. "I have neither concernment enough upon me to write anything in my own defence;" said Dryden, alluding to these attacks, in the Dedication, in 1673, of his play of the 'Assignation,' to Sir Charles Sedley, "neither will I gratify the ambition of two wretched scribblers, who desire nothing more than to be answered. I have not wanted friends, even amongst strangers, who have defended me more strongly than my contemptible pedant could attack me; for the other, he is only like Fungoso in the play, who follows the fashion at a distance, and adores the Fastidious Brisk of Oxford." The "contemptible pedant," and "Fastidious Brisk," is supposed to be a Richard Leigh, who had been educated at Oxford, but afterwards became a player in the Duke's company, and wrote an anonymous pamphlet, printed at Oxford in 1673, entitled 'The Censure of the Rota on Mr. Dryden's Conquest of Granada;' the other, his

imitator, is conjectured to be the writer of another of these attacks, which appeared soon after at Cambridge with the title of 'A Friendly Vindication of Mr. Dryden from the Author of the Censure of the Rota.' Another of his assailants, whom he did condescend to notice, was a play-writer named Edward Ravenscroft, notorious as the author of what has been distinguished as the grossest play that ever succeeded on the stage in England, (one, nevertheless, which continued to be acted till some years after the commencement of the last century). This person had sneered at the 'Conquest of Granada' in a prologue to a play acted at the Duke's house in 1672; Dryden retaliated in the prologue to his 'Assignation'; and Ravenscroft rejoined in the prologue to his 'Careless Lovers,' which was produced immediately after. But the most memorable of these feuds was that in which he became involved with Elkanah Settle, who in his old age was reduced to write the dialogue for the puppet-shows then exhibited on Lord Mayor's Day, and even to act in his own drolls at St. Bartholomew's Fair, but who at one time actually divided the applause of the town with Dryden. The story is thus told by John Dennis, writing in 1717 :—"Nothing is more certain than that Mr. Settle, who is now the City poet, was formerly a poet of the court. And at what time was he so? Why, in the reign of King Charles II., when that court was more gallant and more polite than ever the English court perhaps had been before; when there was at court the present and the late Duke of Buckingham, the late Earl of Dorset, Wilmot earl of Rochester, famous for his wit and poetry, Sir Charles Sedley, Mr. Saville, Mr. Buckley, and several others. Mr. Settle's first tragedy, 'Cambyses, King of Persia,' was acted for three weeks together. The second, which was 'The Empress of Morocco,' was acted for a month together; and was in such high esteem, both with the court and town, that it was acted at Whitehall before the king by the gentlemen and ladies of the court; and the Prologue, which was spoken by the Lady Betty Howard, was writ by the famous Lord Rochester. The

bookseller who printed it, depending upon the prepossession of the town, ventured to distinguish it from all the plays that had been ever published before; for it was the first play that ever was sold in England for two shillings, and the first that ever was printed with cuts Well, but what was the event of this great success? Mr. Settle began to grow insolent, as any one may see who reads the epistle dedicatory to 'The Empress of Morocco.' Mr. Dryden, Mr. Shadwell, and Mr. Crowne, began to grow jealous; and they three in confederacy wrote 'Remarks on the Empress of Morocco.' Mr. Settle answered them; and, according to the opinion which the town then had of the matter (for I have utterly forgot the controversy), had by much the better of them all. In short, Mr. Settle was then a formidable rival to Mr. Dryden; and I remember very well that not only the town, but the University of Cambridge, was very much divided in their opinions about the preference that ought to be given to them; and in both places the younger fry inclined to Elkanah."

Connected in some degree with this unworthy altercation with Settle was an extraordinary event which happened a few years afterwards. Settle is believed to have been merely an instrument in the hands of Rochester, who, for some reason or other, had taken umbrage at Dryden, with whom he had been at one time on very good terms. It is supposed that the poet had incurred his hatred by an intimacy he was understood to have formed with Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, between whom and Rochester there was a mortal enmity, the history of which as commonly told is not creditable to the latter in any view. Rochester, whose genius was almost equal to his profligacy, had easily managed by his influence at court to procure that temporary exaltation of Settle and his vulgar bombast which succeeded in so mortifying and irritating Dryden. But this was only the beginning of a long and vindictive persecution. Having made the most of Settle, Rochester next took under his all-potential patronage another dramatist of the day, Crowne,

who, although a writer of altogether a different stamp from Settle, was yet far from enjoying a reputation equal to that of Dryden, and got him to be appointed to write a masque, which was acted by the court lords and ladies in 1675. The effect was the same as in the case of Settle's 'Empress of Morocco;' Crowne's masque, 'Calisto,' as it was called, had a run of ninety nights when it was afterwards brought out at the public theatre. Next Rochester took up Otway, whose 'Don Carlos' appeared in 1676, and who, in the Preface to the play when it was published, not only proclaimed his obligations to Rochester, who he said had recommended him to the King and the Duke, but took an opportunity of speaking of Dryden with defiance and contempt. It appears that Dryden had expressed himself somewhat slightly of Otway's play; but, however little he may have admired the structure of that writer's verse, he has recorded his sense of Otway's pathetic power. Rochester, however, probably succeeded in inspiring the two poets with such a mutual dislike as kept them apart while they lived. Some time after this his lordship attacked Dryden with his own pen in an imitation of Horace, entitled 'An Allusion to the Tenth Satire,' which he published without his name in 1678, and in which he ridiculed his victim under the designation of *Poet Squob*. This drew forth some severe remarks from Dryden in the Preface to his 'All for Love,' published the same year. Towards the close of the next year, 1679, copies were handed about in manuscript of an anonymous poem by Mulgrave, entitled 'An Essay upon Satire,' in which Rochester was treated with great severity, as well as the King himself, the Duchesses of Portsmouth and Cleveland, and various other persons. Although the mere versification of the poem, which was the meanest doggerel, ought to have made it evident that Dryden could have had no share in its composition, it appears to have been at first received as his. "The author is apparently Mr. Dr., his patron, Lord M., having a panegyric in the midst," Rochester wrote on the 21st of November in a letter to a friend, inclosing a copy of the libel. A

month after, on the night of Monday, the 18th of December, as Dryden was returning from Wills's coffee-house in Russell Street to his own house in Gerard Street, Soho, through Rose Street, Covent Garden, he was waylaid, and, in the words of an advertisement which appeared in the next Gazette offering a reward of 50*l.* for the discovery of the authors of the outrage, "barbarously assaulted and wounded by divers men unknown." No discovery was ever made; but the universal opinion was that the ruffians had been hired by Rochester, in concert perhaps with the Duchess of Portsmouth.

At length, however, Dryden, after having written no verse except for the theatres during about fourteen years, resumed the species of poetical composition in which he had first distinguished himself. But his style and manner were no longer now the same as when he produced the '*Astræa Redux*' and the '*Annus Mirabilis*.' All his poems after this date belong to what may be called his third and latest manner, from which all heaviness and languor have disappeared, and given place to an animation and fervour, a force, freedom, and fearlessness of execution, in which he is not surpassed by any other English poet.

In 1680 a translation of Ovid's *Epistles* into English came out: two of which, together with the Preface, were by Dryden. In the following year he published '*Absalom and Achitophel*;' a work of first-rate excellence as a political and controversial poem. Dr. Johnson ascribes to it "acrimony of censure, elegance of praise, artful delineation of character, variety and vigour of sentiments, happy turns of language, and pleasing harmony of numbers; and all these raised to such a height as can scarcely be found in any other English composition." In the same year '*The Medal*,' a satire, was given to the public. This piece was occasioned by the striking of a medal, on account of the indictment against Lord Shaftesbury being thrown out, and is a severe invective against that celebrated statesman.

In 1682 Dryden published '*Religio Laici*,' in defence of revealed religion against Deists, Papists, and Presby-

terians. Yet soon after the accession of James the II., he became a Roman Catholic; and in the hope of promoting Popery, was employed on a translation of Maimbourg's History of the League, on account of the parallel between the troubles of France and those of Great Britain. This extraordinary conversion exposed him to much ridicule from the wits.

In the same year appeared the first edition of his tremendous crucifixion of Shadwell—his 'Mac-Flecnoe, or a Satire on the True Blue Protestant Poet, T. S., by the author of Absalom and Achitophel.' Richard Flecnoe was an Irish priest, well known about the court, whose name had become proverbial for his wretched verses; and Shadwell is represented as his adopted son, who is to succeed him as monarch of the realm of Dulness and Nonsense.

Pope's Dunciad, though more extended in its plan, and more diversified in its incidents, was professedly written in imitation of this poem. The leisure and pains bestowed on its performance give the imitator the superiority in point of elaborate execution; but there are bursts of pleasantry in Mac Flecnoe, and sallies of wit and humour, equal if not superior to any thing in Pope or Boileau, or perhaps in any poet excepting Horace. Dr. Joseph Warton says of it, that "in point of satire, both oblique and direct contempt and indignation, clear diction, and melodious versification, this poem is perhaps the best of its kind in any language."

Mac Flecnoe was followed by a second part of 'Absalom and Achitophel,' which for the greater part was written by Nahum Tate, and only revised by Dryden; but the latter inserted about two hundred lines of his own, in which, joining Shadwell and Settle, under the names of Og and Doeg, he has laid his scourge on both without mercy.

The 'Hind and Panther,' a controversial poem in defence of the Romish church, appeared in 1687. The Hind represents the Church of Rome, the Panther the Church of England. The first part of the poem consists mostly of general characters and narration; which, says the author, "I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the

majestic turn of heroic poetry. The second, being matter of dispute and chiefly concerning church authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could, yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasion for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is, or ought to be, more free and familiar than the two former. There are in it two episodes, or fables, which are interwoven with the main design; so that they are properly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the commonplaces of satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of one church against another." The absurdity of a fable exhibiting two beasts discoursing on theology was ridiculed in the 'City Mouse and Country Mouse,' a prose dialogue after the manner of the 'Rehearsal,' the joint production of Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Prior, who then put forth the first sample of his talents. Dryden is supposed to have been engaged for the translation of Varillas's History of Heresies, but to have dropped the design, from a feeling of his own incompetency to theological controversy. Bishop Burnet, in his 'Reflections on the Ninth Book of the first Volume of M. Varillas's History,' classes together that work and the Hind and Panther, as "such extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but suitable to see the author of the worst poem become likewise the translator of the worst history that the age has produced." Dr. Johnson supports the Bishop's hostile criticism so far as to pronounce the scheme of the work injudicious and incommodious, and to censure the absurdity of making one beast advise another to rest her faith on a pope and council: but he allows it to be written "with great smoothness of metre, a wide extent of knowledge, and an abundant multiplicity of images: the controversy to be embellished with pointed sentences, diversified by illustrations, and enlivened by sallies of invective;" and a poem inlaid with such ornaments, however little worth the solid material might be, was but peevishly represented as "the worst that the age

'had produced." Pope, a higher authority than the Bishop in such matters, considered it as the most correct specimen of Dryden's versification. Malone has shown that Burnet was mistaken in attributing to our author the answer to Burnet's 'Remarks on the History.'

In 1688 Dryden published '*Britannia Rediviva*,' a congratulatory poem, in a high style of adulation, on the birth of the Prince afterwards known by the title of the Pretender. But even had he not so identified himself with the ejected dynasty, his conversion to Popery disqualified him for holding his place after the Revolution. He was accordingly dispossessed of it; and the mortification of its being conferred on an object of his confirmed dislike aggravated the pecuniary loss, which he could ill afford. His successor was his old enemy Shadwell.

Dr. Johnson doubts whether Dryden was the translator of the '*Life of Francis Xavier*,' by Father Bouhours, to which his name is affixed. The borrowing of popular names for title-pages was very prevalent in those days, and the loan probably not without profit to the lenders.

In 1693 a translation of Juvenal and Persius appeared. The first, third, sixth, tenth, and sixteenth satires of Juvenal, and the whole of Persius, are Dryden's: also the Dedication to Lord Dorset, a long and ingenious discourse, in which the writer gives an account of a design, which he never carried into effect, of writing an epic poem either on Arthur or the Black Prince. Lord Dorset well deserved the compliment of so masterly a dedication; for he continued to patronise the poet in the reverse of his fortunes, and allowed him an annuity equal to the salary which he had lost.

In 1694 Dryden published a prose translation of Du Fresnoy's '*Art of Painting*,' with a Preface, exhibiting a parallel between painting and poetry. Pope addressed a copy of verses to Jervas, the painter, in praise of this work.

The most laborious of Dryden's works, the translation of Virgil, was given to the world in 1697. The '*Pastorals*' were dedicated to Lord Clifford, the '*Georgics*' to Lord Chesterfield, and the '*Æneid*' to Lord Mul-

grave: an economical and lucrative combination of flattery, which the wits suffered not to pass unnoticed. The translation had an extensive sale, and has since passed through many editions. Like most of Dryden's longer productions, it has many careless passages, which do not well accord with an original so remarkable for finish and correctness; but it still stands its ground, and is a stock-book, in the face of the more careful and perhaps more scholarlike performances of Warton, Sotheby, and Pitt.

Besides the original pieces and translations already mentioned, Dryden wrote many others, the most important of which were published in six volumes of *Miscellanies*, to which he was the principal contributor. They consist of translations from the Greek and Latin poets; epistles, prologues, and epilogues; odes, elegies, epitaphs, and songs. 'Alexander's Feast, an ode for Saint Cecilia's Day,' displays one of the highest flights within the compass of lyric poetry. Dryden, although no lover of labour, is said to have devoted a fortnight to this masterpiece. Yet the poetic fervour is so supported throughout, that it reads as if struck off at a heat; so much so, that the few negligences which escaped the enthusiasm of the writer are scarcely ever noticed. Dr. Johnson, seldom carried beyond the wariness of criticism by the inspiration of his author, did not discover that some of the lines are without correspondent rhymes, till after an acquaintance with it of many years. The splendour of this poem eclipsed that of his first ode for St. Cecilia's Day, which would have fixed the fame of any other poet. In 'Alexander's Feast' the versification is brilliantly worked up, and abruptly varied, according to the rapid transitions of the subject; the language is natural though elevated, and the sentiments are suited to the age and occasion. Had Dryden never written another line, his name would yet be as undying as the tongue in which he wrote. His *Fables* in English verse from Homer, Ovid, Boccaccio, and Chaucer, were his last work; they were published in 1698. The preface gives a critical account of the authors from whom the *Fables* are translated. In this work he furnished us

with the first example of the revival of antient English writers by modernising their language. Yet those readers who can master Chaucer's phraseology, and have an ear so practised as to catch the tune of his verse, will like him better in the simplicity of his native garb than in the elaborate splendour of his borrowed costume.

Dryden was a voluminous writer in prose as well as in verse, and quite as great a master of the English language in the former as in the latter. His performances in prose consist of Dedications, Prefaces, and controversial pieces; the Lives of Plutarch and Lucian, prefixed to the translations of those authors by several hands; the Life of Polybius, prefixed to the translation of that historian by Sir Henry Shears; and the Preface to Walsh's Dialogue concerning Women.

Dryden died at his house in Gerard Street, at three o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, the 1st of May, 1700. There is a confused story respecting some vexatious and tumultuary incidents occurring at his funeral, which rests on no satisfactory authority; and, even if true, would occupy more room in the detail than would square either with our limits or its own importance.

His wife, Lady Elizabeth Dryden, survived till the summer of 1714, when she died at the age of seventy-nine, having been for the last four years insane. He had three sons by this lady; Charles, John, and Erasmus-Henry. Charles, his father's favourite, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and he is the author of the Seventh Satire of Juvenal, published in his father's version, and of several original pieces of verse both in English and Latin; he went to Rome, in 1692, and was appointed Chamberlain of the Household to Pope Innocent XII.; but he returned home in 1698, in ill health, and was drowned in an attempt to swim across the Thames, at Datchet, near Windsor, on the 28th of August, 1704. John, the second son, studied at University College, Oxford, and is the author of a comedy, and of the Fourteenth Satire in his father's translation of Juvenal; he followed his brother Charles

to Rome, where he officiated as his deputy in the Pope's household, and died at Rome before Charles. The poet's third son, Erasmus-Henry, after having been educated at the Charter-House, also went to Rome, where he became a captain in the Pope's guards; but after the death of his brother John he returned to England, and in 1708 succeeded to the title of Baronet, as representative of his great-grandfather, but without the estate of Canons Ashby, which had been devised to his cousin, who also succeeded him in the baronetcy upon his death in 1710.

Dryden was the father of English criticism; and his *Essay on Dramatic Poetry* is the first regular and judicious treatise in our language on the art of writing. Although, after so many valuable discourses have been delivered to the public on the same subjects during the century and a half which has elapsed since his original attempts, his prose works may now be read more for the charm of their pure idiomatic English, than for their novelty or instructive matter, yet the merits of a discoverer must not be underrated because his discoveries have been extended, or his inventions improved upon. Before his time, those who wished to arrive at just principles of taste, or a rational code of criticism, if they were unacquainted with the works of the ancients and the modern languages of Italy and France, had no guides to lead them on their way. Dryden communicated to his own learning, which, though not deep nor accurate, was various and extensive, the magic of his style and the popular attraction of his mother-tongue: the *Spectator* followed his lead, in essays less diffusive, and therefore more within the reach of the million: in our day such is the accumulation of material, and so cheap and copious the power of circulating knowledge, that the poorest man who can read may inform his mind on subjects of general literature, to the enlargement of his understanding, and the improvement of his morals. But we must not forget our obligations to those who began that hoard, whence we have the privilege of drawing at will.

With respect to those prose works of our author which

are devoted to controversy, their interest has quite passed away, farther than as they may evince his powers in argument, or command of language. Dr. Johnson gives a just estimate of his general character. "He appears to have a mind very comprehensive by nature, and much enriched with acquired knowledge. His compositions are the effects of a vigorous genius, operating upon large materials."

Dryden's works have been constantly before the public in various shapes and successive editions. Those best deserving a place in the library are, his *Prose Works* in four volumes, edited by Mr. Malone; his *Poetical Works*, in four volumes, with notes, by Dr. Joseph Warton, and his son, the Rev. John Warton; and the whole of his Works in eighteen volumes octavo, by Sir Walter Scott. The earlier authorities for his Life are Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*; the *Biographia Britannica*; and a Life by Derrick, poorly executed, prefixed to Tonson's edition, in 1760. Johnson's admirable Essay on this subject is in the hands of every reader, and is one of the most masterly among his 'Lives of the Poets.' He was peculiarly well qualified to appreciate a writer in whom, to use his own words, "strong reason rather predominated than quick sensibility." Scott also has written a copious Life, occupying the first volume of his edition of Dryden's Works.



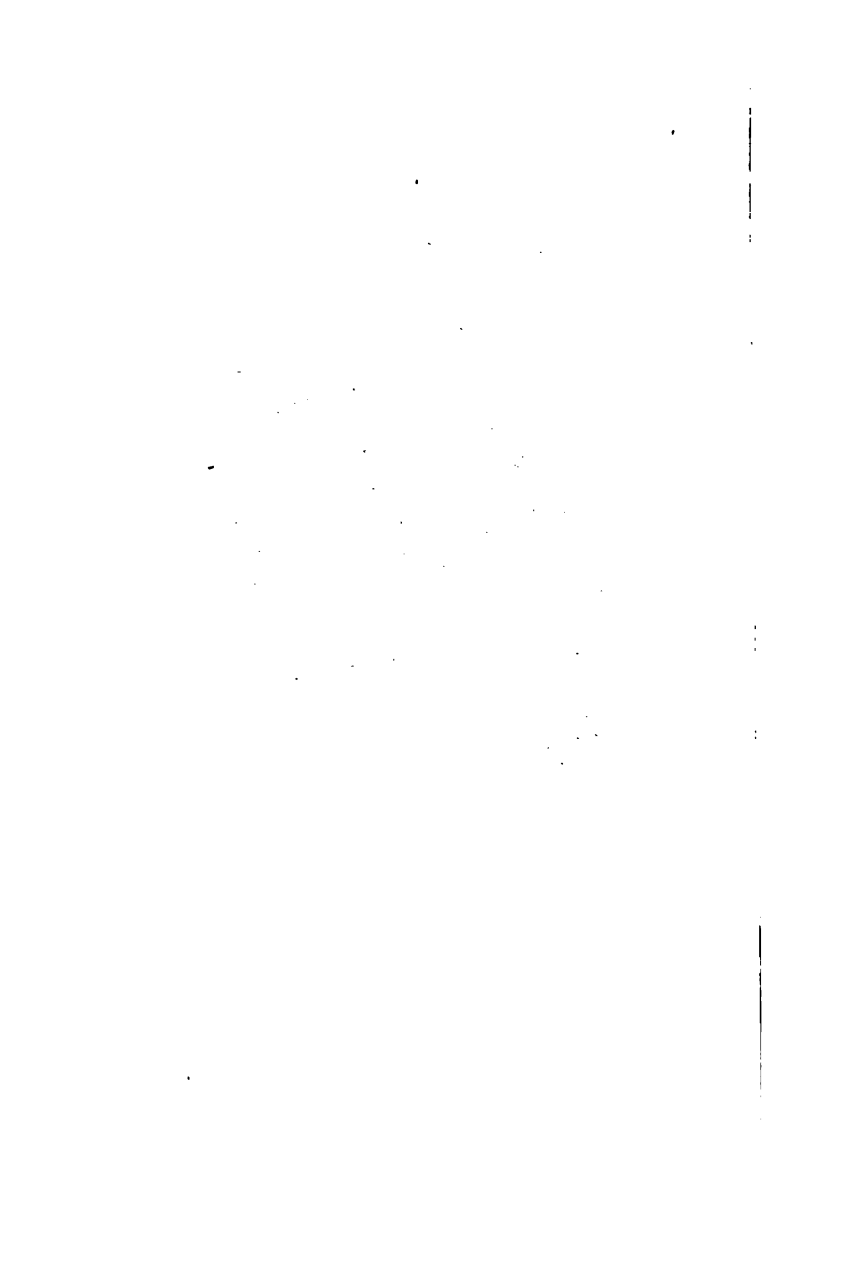
THIS Prince descended from an ancient and illustrious German house, which, very early, distinguished itself throughout Europe in the cause of Protestantism and Civil Liberty. The Counts of Nassau, then settled on the Rhine, acquired great power during the middle ages : at one period they disputed the pre-eminence with the House of Austria ; in 1292 Adolphus of Nassau was elected Emperor of Germany, or—as it was styled—of the Holy Roman Empire ; and five ecclesiastical electors of the family of Nassau figured then among the princes of the Empire.

“ From Didier and imperial Adolph trace
The glorious offspring of the Nassau race,
Devoted lives to public liberty ;
The chief still dying, or the country free.” *

* Matthew Prior. *Carmen Seculare*, addressed to King William III., A.D. 1700.



WILLIAM III.



These magnates were famed as a valorous, taciturn, cautious race: and in few historical families have the original characteristics been so long and so perfectly preserved.

Early in the sixteenth century the Nassaus obtained, through marriage and bequest, the French principality of Orange in Provence, from which their most celebrated title has been derived: but the possession of several large domains and hereditary dignities in the Netherlands had meanwhile numbered the Counts of Nassau among the great and almost royal vassals whom the House of Austria gained by the marriage of Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy: and William I. of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the true founder of the political importance and glories of his race, was the subject of the Emperor Charles V. This William I. of Orange, great-grandfather to our William III., was born at Dillenburg in Nassau, in 1533, during the latter part of the reign of our Henry VIII. His father having embraced the Lutheran doctrines, he was, at first, educated as a Protestant; but the Emperor Charles V. removed the promising boy to his court, and caused him to be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. In the words of Cardinal Bentivoglio, the ultra-Catholic historian of the Wars of Flanders,—“He was born *a heretic* in Germany, but being called into Flanders, when a child, to immense property, paternal and maternal, he became a Catholic; and was ever held in great favour by the emperor.” Charles, who is said to have foreseen the great statesman in the boy, kept him very constantly about his person, gave him practical lessons in the business of government, allowed him to be present when he gave audience to foreign ambassadors, and honoured him with a confidence far above his years. William merited this extraordinary favour by a discretion and a taciturnity which had already obtained for him his famous surname of “The Silent;” and the great Emperor did not blush to avow publicly that to so young a man he had often been indebted for suggestions, in matters of state, which had escaped his own sagacity and long experience. In the last solemn

act of his public life, when he abdicated his throne to his son Philip II., Charles leaned on the shoulder of this William of Orange; and to him also the retiring monarch committed the honourable mission of delivering over the imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand. The Prince, even then, was only in his twenty-third year.

That intolerant bigot and umbrageous tyrant Philip II. had scarcely ascended the throne ere he conceived a distrust and jealousy of the young Prince, whose popularity and influence in the Low Countries were immense. At the same time William embraced Calvinism. This change of religion was unknown when he was sent to reside at the court of France as a hostage from Philip II. for the peace of Cateau Cambresis; and the French King, Henry II., believing him to be still a Catholic, and as much in the confidence of Philip as he had been in that of Charles V., incautiously spoke to him of the secret treaty which the crowns of France and Spain had recently concluded for the extirpation of the Protestants in the dominions of both. William hastened to communicate this disclosure to the leaders of the Protestant party in Brussels; and Philip II. soon discovered that he had done so. Yet, for several years, and so long as Philip left the Netherlands under the feeble administration of Margaret of Parma, the Prince of Orange was left undisturbed; and, all that time, as a member of the Flemish council of state, and as Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, he covertly but indefatigably employed himself in undermining the tyrannical designs of Philip, who, on his side, was masking his designs with the most consummate dissimulation. But, at last, when the bigot and tyrant, conceiving that the time for action was come, sent the able, energetic, and sanguinary Duke of Alva to supersede Margaret of Parma, William threw off the mask. His friends, the Counts Egmont and Horn, perished on a scaffold, but he saved his life by retiring in good time to his paternal domains of Nassau. There he matured his scheme for entirely overthrowing the mighty power of Spain in the Netherlands. In the field, with raw heterogeneous levies, he had to contend

against the veteran Spanish and Italian troops which Alva had led into the Low Countries, and which were successively headed by the greatest Captains of Europe, as Alva himself, Don John of Austria, and Alexander Farnese of Parma. He was frequently defeated—for a long time war was to him nothing but a series of reverses—but he never desponded or faltered in his purpose, and every disadvantage in the field was counterbalanced by his consummate abilities as a statesman, which ultimately enabled him to triumph not only over his Spanish enemies, but also over every rival in the councils of the revolted provinces. It was by his suggestion and under his auspices that the seven Protestant states of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Guelderland, concluded, in 1576, the famous Union of Utrecht, which formed the lasting basis of the Dutch Republic. Philip now invited assassins by setting a high price upon his head. One murderer failed, but a second, in the year 1584, shot him. The villain was a Burgundian, by name Balthazar Gerard, who is said to have been encouraged by Roman Catholic priests.

The contest with Rome and Spain and the whole House of Austria was continued by William's son, Maurice of Nassau, who was as secret and adroit as his father in the cabinet, and far more successful in the field. He gained victory after victory, captured fortress after fortress, and in about twelve years he entirely cleared the Seven United Provinces of the Spaniards and of all their Catholic foes. In many respects his policy was Machiavellian, and his character as a statesman open to severe reprobation; but as a scientific soldier he stood unrivalled. Maurice of Nassau, in fact, is regarded as the founder of the military science of modern Europe. He was, at least, the earliest restorer of the true principles of warfare, which he had deeply studied in the enduring lessons of classical antiquity, and as carefully applied to the altered circumstances and the exigencies of his own time. He was the first to methodize the practice of sieges, encampments, and marches; and he introduced numberless reforms in the armament, training,

and formation of troops. To him must be referred that uniformity of exercise and regularity of movement which have become the simplest elements of martial discipline. Maurice died on the 23rd of April, 1625. He left no legitimate offspring; and was succeeded, both in the principality of Orange and the Stadtholdership of the United Provinces, by his half-brother, Frederic Henry. These two great ancestors were more especially the models of the illustrious subject of the present memoir.

William III. of Nassau, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, and ultimately King of England,—the great champion of the civil and religious liberties of Protestant Europe—was born in the year 1650, and was the posthumous son of William II. of Orange, by Mary, daughter of Charles I. of England. As William II. was the eldest son of the Stadtholder Frederic Henry, who was the youngest son of William the Silent, by Louisa, daughter of the famous Admiral Coligni, one of the most illustrious of the Protestant victims sacrificed at Paris in the St. Bartholomew massacre, young William III. was great-grandson of the founder of the Dutch Republic, and was also lineally descended, in the female line, from the renowned leader of the Huguenots or French Protestants. The morning of life was sadly overcast; not only had a father's care been denied to the birth and infancy of William III., but his youth was destined to suffer for the errors and misfortunes of his parent. The Republic of the United Provinces was, in many respects, a disjointed, anomalous, uncertain form of government (the defects and vices of the system eventually led to the easy subjugation of the whole country by the French Revolutionists of 1792); the Stadtholdership, which had been meant to be elective (like the Presidency in the United States of America), had been allowed to become hereditary in the house of Nassau; at times there was attached to the office as ample a prerogative as that which has since been enjoyed by the truly constitutional monarchs of Great Britain; but, at other times, the Stadtholder could scarcely exercise any authority without exciting jealousy, fear, and hatred;

and at all times, from the moment that William the Silent had achieved the liberation of his country, there was an aristocratic or republican party that constantly and vehemently opposed the Prince and the Orangeists. The crooked policy, the subterfuges of state were not all on one side: the Barneveldts, the De Witts, and the other leaders could be quite as Machiavellian, pitiless, and remorseless as Maurice of Nassau, and as rash and violent as William II. Moreover, while struggling for a theoretical freedom, by always leaning to France they jeopardized the liberties of their country, which had been purchased by so much blood, and by forty years of war. There was also inherent in the government the incurable evils of Federalism. The seven provinces were politically united, without being amalgamated: each had an internal government of its own, and its own views, interests, and predilections. In some, the Orangeists predominated; in others the ultra-republicans. The quarrels between them were occasionally so violent as to threaten the dissolution of the union, and the ruin of the edifice which had been raised by the prudence, wisdom, and valour of the house of Nassau.

Great faults were, however, imputed to the father of William III. The Stadtholder Frederic Henry, unlike his half-brother and predecessor, the warlike Maurice, had administered his office without giving much umbrage to the States; but his son and successor William II. even in his brief career, which was cut short by death in his twenty-fourth year, was accused of violently infringing the fundamental laws of the republic, and of aspiring to the establishment of a monarchy; and after his death, the party opposed to the Orange interest took advantage of the helplessness of his posthumous infant son to prevent his succeeding to the dignity of Stadtholder. The alliance of the family of Nassau with the house of Stuart (the young William being son of the daughter of the late Charles I.) had also excited the jealousy of Oliver Cromwell, whose power was now in the ascendant; and when—in the year 1654—peace was concluded between the Commonwealth of England

and the republic of the United Provinces, the imperious demand of the English Protector, that all the states should solemnly engage to exclude the infant Prince of Orange and his descendants prospectively from the Stadtholdership, was only satisfied by a secret engagement to the same effect, to which Holland, as the leading province of the Union, disgracefully acceded.

The States, in lieu of a Stadtholder, created a sort of a President in the person of the Pensionary John de Witt, who not only administered the affairs of government, but also took charge of the education of the young prince.

The restoration of the Stuarts to the British throne in 1660, tended at once to raise the hopes of the Orangeists and to increase the disquietude of their opponents, whose government had been neither fortunate abroad nor popular at home. Yet, in 1667, when William was in his seventeenth year, the republican party, headed by the two brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, succeeded in inducing the States to pass the "Perpetual Edict," for ever abolishing the office of Stadtholder. But perpetuity is not a mortal quality; and this arrogant Edict, instead of living for ever, died in five years, and had but few tears shed at its obsequies. Its death-blow was given by the iniquitous aggression of Louis XIV. upon the republic, in 1672. Threatening to drown these shopkeepers in their own ditches, the French King, with 100,000 men, commanded by those great and experienced generals, Turenne, Condé, and Luxembourg, crossed the Rhine almost without a show of opposition, overran three of the seven United Provinces, and spread such consternation in the great trading city of Amsterdam, that the municipal authorities proposed sending their keys to the conqueror. Even the Pensionary de Witt despaired, and suggested the inevitable necessity of submission; and he had brought the country to that state that resistance did, in very deed, appear hopeless. Blindly confiding in the friendship of France, and distrusting and hating the best officers of the army, as men devoted to the house of Orange, and disgusted with

the oligarchy, they had; by dismissals, reductions, and neglect, so weakened the land-forces that the republic was in a manner defenceless. At the present terrible crisis, the Dutch remembered that it was the house of Orange that had first made them an independent people, and they turned their eyes to the young prince who was behind the river Maas and the broad dikes of South Holland, and who, though never inflated by hope or by realized success, was never, in his whole life, cast down by despair; and as, besides the *prestige* of his name, and the traditions of his grandfather and great-grandfather, young William had already acquired a reputation for unusual forethought, prudence, conduct, and fortitude, it was soon resolved to intrust him with the supreme command of all the forces. De Witt, who could not prevent this sudden appointment, succeeded, nevertheless, in inducing the republican party to bind the prince by an oath to observe the "Perpetual Edict," and never seek to advance himself to the office of Stadtholder. But the days of the republican Pensionary were numbered. The people murmured at the defenceless state of the provinces, at the easy capture the French had been allowed to make of fortresses, towns, cities, provinces; they suspected De Witt, who had been so long and so closely linked with the French, of traitorous connivance with Louis XIV.; and by proposing abjectly to treat with that haughty invader, he sealed his doom. The hatred of the two parties against each other had long been inveterate; and now the Orangeists—the quasi-royalists—who, ever since the death of William II. had been deprived of the honours and emoluments of office, intrigued and harangued, and, without doubt, fanned the popular fury into a blaze. At Dort, at Middelburg, at Rotterdam, at Amsterdam, the people, who had always been favourable to the family of Nassau, rose and called for a Stadtholder, to beat back the French and restore the independence and honour of the country. Their first fury was directed against the two De Witts, whom they murdered and mutilated in the streets of the Hague with horrible barbarity. The

young Prince of Orange was then tumultuously raised to the prescribed dignity of Stadtholder; and, being absolved from his recent oath, both civilly and canonically, he took the reins of government into his own hands.

William was only in the twenty-second year of his age when he was thus suddenly called to the government of a factious, distracted, and half-conquered state, a lawless populace, and a dispirited and disorganized army. He was of a sickly habit of body—he was all his life through a valetudinarian—but this physical weakness did not affect the iron strength of his mind, or check for a moment his energetic activity. Having given rewards and employments to some of the men who had headed the recent revolution, and having called around him the veteran officers who had so long served his family, he, with an undivided, unlimited command, and with all the resources of the country at his disposal, made head against the victorious and confident French. For a long time he had no ally of any importance. His loving uncle, Charles II., had become the pensioner of Louis XIV., and had basely rendered England subservient to France. Charles even sent over 6000 British troops under the command of his natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, to aid the French in their iniquitous invasion. But, happily for his country and the world, young William at once displayed the same characteristics of firmness, sagacity, valour, and perseverance, which had rendered his great-grandfather so illustrious. His taciturnity was as invincible as that of old "Silent." Knowing that Louis was moving with money-chests filled with gold to bribe and to buy, and that every camp contains men capable of selling themselves for gold, William kept his plans to himself until they were put into execution. One of his colonels, after a very successful affair of arms, asked him what was his next great design. "Can you keep a secret?" said the prince. "I can," said the colonel. "*And so can I,*" said William. His firmness was sublime; and it was beautiful and touching in being coupled with his youth and inexperience, and his love of his country. He indignantly rejected all the efforts and tempt-

ing offers of the combined kings of France and England to seduce him from the cause of the Dutch republic; and when Buckingham, the favourite of Charles II., asked him whether he did not see that Louis must prevail, and that the destruction of the Commonwealth was inevitable, he replied, "There is one means by which I at least shall be sure not to witness the ruin of my country: I will die in the last ditch." This magnanimous spirit found its way into the hearts of his despairing countrymen, who cut the dikes of their lands, and resigned the fertile fields, which their ancestors had rescued from the sea, to the ravages of that element, rather than yield them to their invaders. An impassable inundation was placed between Amsterdam and the French; and the vain-glorious Louis, finding that the war was no longer a pleasant promenade, returned to his own capital. The great Turenne, who remained behind, was foiled and beaten; and in two short campaigns the French armies were entirely driven out of the territories of the republic. This has been classed among the miracles of military history.

In 1674, the young Prince of Orange even dared every measure to bring the veteran Condé to a pitched battle; and though he suffered for his temerity at Senef, near Mons, he so nobly conducted himself in that defeat or check, as to extort from his illustrious opponent the generous avowal that "he had acted in everything like an old captain, except in exposing his life too much like a young soldier." It was also in adversity, and in the midst of the perplexities of state and the pangs of disappointed hope, that William's character, like a rocket against a dark sky, shone forth with all its brilliancy. No failure could extract from him any dishonourable concession, or any expression of despondency. His principle, as his word, was "Steady, Steady!"

During the remainder of the war, which, after a separate peace between England and the States in 1674, was protracted with France for four years, and only concluded by the peace of Nimeguen in 1678, William continued to give abundant proofs both of his political

and military genius; and shortly before the treaty of Nimeguen, he had effected a personal alliance, which largely influenced the fortunes of his subsequent life. In the month of September, 1677, after having been obliged to raise the siege of Charleroi, the prince came over to England, and, very soon, was allowed to marry his cousin Mary, eldest daughter of James, duke of York, by Anne Hyde (daughter of Chancellor Clarendon), and, at that date, heiress presumptive to the British crown. It is said that Charles II. was much amused at the prince's nicety in having refused to enter upon any treaty of marriage until he had first seen his intended wife, and had ascertained her inclinations. On a personal acquaintance, and a familiar though short intercourse, the prince and princess were mutually pleased with each other; the match was then concluded, and William's disinterestedness and delicacy were rewarded by the harmony which attended his domestic life with his consort. It is not easy to comprehend how Charles II. so readily consented to a measure so contrary to his usual policy and inclinations; for William, though his nephew, had thwarted his designs, had exposed his political baseness, and had given still greater offence by his maintenance of the republican cause. But Charles was never steady to any course—there was no more calculating upon his impulses and movements than there was upon the flight of the butterfly or moth which he and his women and courtiers were chasing, while De Ruyter and the Dutch were burning his fleet in the Medway, and threatening to bombard him in his capital. Yet it is generally believed that one or two very weighty considerations may have influenced him at this juncture. The Prince of Orange was already very popular among the great body of the two nations of England and Scotland, who regarded him as the champion of the Protestant faith, and as the only warrior and statesman of the day capable of preserving Europe from the tyranny and intolerance of Louis XIV. Charles's government was becoming excessively unpopular; his brother, the Duke of York, was hated and feared as a bigoted papist,

and a prince of a tyrannical disposition ; and the whole country was on the eve of being convulsed and maddened by Shaftesbury, Titus Oates, and their so-called Popish plots. It was therefore very expedient for the king to give some sign of Protestantism ; and he may have hoped, by this marriage, to dispel the suspicions excited by his brother's religion. There is no doubt but that the Duke of York was opposed to the match. But the king, who had made up his own mind, exclaimed, " God's fish ! he must consent ;" and this, in the end, though with evident reluctance, the duke did. The marriage, which, according to Burnet, gave a general satisfaction to the whole nation, was celebrated on the 4th of November, 1677. Encouraged by the popularity he had thus acquired, Charles ventured, very soon after, to meet his parliament, and to demand from it a very great supply of money.

It is more than probable that neither the Prince of Orange nor Charles II. and his dark brother the duke foresaw *all* the consequences of this well-sorted and auspicious union to the politics of Europe. But no event of William's fortune contributed so essentially to the furtherance of that great design which had become the master-passion of his soul—the reduction of the disproportionate and tyrannical power of Louis XIV., and the security of the liberties of the Protestant world. The last was a mission he may be said to have inherited through three generations ; and nearly all the fame and traditions of his ancestors, whether on the side of the house of Nassau, or on that of the scarcely less illustrious house of Coligni, were inseparably linked with the Protestant cause. While the French troops were devastating his country, the French Huguenots were putting up secret prayers for his success, and for the overthrow of Louis. To his two grand objects, from the first hour in which he had been called to the defence of his country, his whole life was consistent ; and in whatever degree motives of personal ambition, whether unconsciously to himself or otherwise, were mingled in his plans, he appears never to have suffered any consideration for an

instant to interfere with the pursuit of the great cause to which he had devoted himself. Besides his genius, his valour, his consummate prudence, and the accidents of his birth which pointed him out as the Protestant chief, many circumstances contributed to place him at the head of the general league, provoked by the monstrous aggressions and intolerable insolences of the French king. The formal revocation (in 1684) of the tolerant Edict of Nantes, which had never been properly observed by Louis XIV., and the barbarous persecution of the Huguenots which immediately followed that revocation, justly alarmed and outraged all the Protestants of Europe; the arrogant, illimitable pretensions of Louis gave mortal offence to the Emperor and King of Spain; the apprehensions which a sad experience had taught the United Provinces to entertain of the projects of the French king naturally rendered the court of their Stadtholder the centre of negotiations against him; and various causes of hatred, suspicion, and fear enabled William to combine the States themselves and the Protestant princes of Germany, with the two Roman Catholic monarchs of the house of Austria (the Emperor and the King of Spain), and other minor powers, in the celebrated League which was concluded against Louis XIV. at Augsburg in 1687. To the completeness of that great European confederacy nothing was wanting but the accession of England; and this was soon (and at the very moment it was most needed) obtained, in the only manner which the alliance of her new King, James II., with France rendered practicable, by his insane attempt to overthrow the liberties and established faith of these realms. But for William there would have been no League of Augsburg; and but for that league France would long have domineered over Europe.

Ever since his marriage with the Princess Mary, William had studiously abstained from taking part in the struggle of parties in England; and though, through his activity in thwarting the schemes of the French king, he had not been able to escape the displeasure of his uncle, Charles II., he had lived on decent terms with

his uncle and father-in-law, the Duke of York ; and since that prince's accession to the throne as James II., he had proffered him aid in suppressing the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, which, though ended by the one single battle or skirmish of Sedge Moor, did at one time seem to menace the unstable throne of James, and the prospective rights of his eldest daughter Mary, Princess of Orange, who still, by birth and by Protestantism, stood indisputably next in order of succession ; for James's son (afterwards the unhappy Pretender) by his second wife, Maria Beatrice of Modena, was not born when Monmouth made his rash attempt to win the crown. James, with thanks, declined the proffered assistance of the Stadtholder. But when William publicly refused to support the *repeal* of the Test Act, which was intended solely to place the government, church, colleges, and corporations of England in the hands of the papists, James began both to treat him as an enemy and to adopt injurious measures against the United Provinces. This obstinate, doomed Stuart, as a means of working out his plans at home, meanly took money from France, concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, tied himself to the triumphal car of Louis XIV., and, by so doing, rendered his political existence absolutely incompatible with that of his son-in-law, the Prince of Orange. This anti-national and odious league, and all the measures which James was systematically and doggedly pursuing, struck at the very existence of the Protestant faith ; and their success might have been fatal also to the cause of civil freedom in Europe, to which William was equally attached. And if the Stadtholder had not become King of England, French armies might have penetrated again to the gates of Amsterdam, and French dragoons might have been employed as Catholic missionaries in the streets of London, even as Louis was employing them at Nismes, and the other Huguenot cities in the south of France. It was at this crisis that all the English and Scotch Protestants turned their eyes to William for the protection of their liberties and faith. His court at the Hague was thronged by exiles who had fled from the

tyranny of James; and some of these men, as Dalrymple, Lords Stair, Fletcher of Saltoun, and others, were eminent by birth, acquirements, or genius, and were possessed of great and deserved influence in the country from which they had been compelled to flee, and to which they were impatient to return in safety and honour. When the entire Whig and Tory parties—when all the conspicuous statesmen, churchmen, and most of the general officers of the army and admirals of the fleets of England—implored him to come to their succour, William was at length induced to undertake his ever-memorable expedition into England for the restoration of the national rights; and, having arranged his preparations with his usual skill and secrecy, he sailed from Helvoet-Sluis on the 1st of November, 1688, with an army of about 14,000 men, composed partly of Dutch troops and partly of English and Scotch regiments in the service of the States. He was accompanied by many British noblemen and gentlemen. His ship bore the flag of England and his own arms, with this motto: "I WILL MAINTAIN THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND." He landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot; and from that day our church and our liberties were safe.

This interference of William in the domestic politics of England has been variously viewed, by opposite parties, as the most glorious, or the most questionable act of his life. But it cannot be denied that it was in perfect consonance with the whole tenor of his principles and his policy. The unexpected birth of a male heir to the crown of England may have quickened the zeal of William; and the double injury to his wife's title, consequent upon a prior right and a Roman Catholic succession, doubtless had its influence upon his mind. Yet there is no reason whatever to discredit his sincere anxiety for the Protestant cause, which without these interested motives might assuredly have prompted his great, and, to England, most happy enterprise. Add to these religious feelings the consideration

ne owed to the safety, strength, and alliances of his own native country, and the destined mission of his life to resist the encroachments of Louis XIV., and it will be confessed by every dispassionate mind, that it was almost impossible for him to have turned a deaf ear to the invitations of England, or to have acted otherwise than he did. The dethronement of a father-in-law has sometimes been imputed to him as a deed of ingratitude, and of unnatural guilt; and, if the affections of private life were usually permitted to have sway in the breasts of princes, it would not be easy to justify William in having made his wife an accomplice in the expulsion of her father. But, in sober truth, there was no debt of gratitude owing by William to James; nor had there at any time been circumstances of private regard between them to outweigh considerations of public duty or personal interest. As Duke of York James had opposed the Prince's marriage with his daughter to the utmost, and as King he had never cordially courted his friendship. On the contrary, he had injured and insulted him, and had formed political connexions with the most dangerous, deadliest enemies of his country. Even the affections of James's two daughters, the Princesses Mary and Anne, had been alienated; for they had been well trained in the Protestant faith, and their unhappy father, after vainly attempting to convert them to his own creed, regarded them as irreclaimable heretics. At no time had his parental affection to them been very warm; and now all his hopes, all his pride and fondness, were absorbed by his infant son, the child of his old age, who, in his vain conceit, was to prolong a line of Catholic and absolute kings in England.

The landing of William in Torbay was followed, after a few days of hesitation, by an almost total defection of James's English subjects and troops from their allegiance; and with unparalleled ease and rapidity was that memorable Revolution effected which changed the royal line, and—for the first time—firmly established the constitution of these realms. Not one drop of blood was shed. For once all parties and orders of men in the

nation, except a scarcely visible minority of Roman Catholics, peaceably concurred in the necessity for an immediate change of sovereign and government; and when the betrayed and misguided King fled to France, the most opposite principles of passive obedience and popular rights were strained to the same practical conclusion, that James II. had either deserted or forfeited the throne. The vital question in what manner the vacant throne should be occupied, terminated the short-lived concord of factions. But William, whether moved in part by a mere selfish ambition, or wholly by a better and well-founded conviction of the public exigencies of the crisis, presently cut short all schemes of the high monarchical party for restricting his functions to a regency, either on behalf of his wife or her infant half-brother, by declaring that, except as King, he would not remain in the country. He scorned to wear a matrimonial crown, or to be merely a queen's husband; he would go back to Holland and leave the English to settle their difficulties by themselves, if any such proposition were insisted on. This decisive language hastened the proceedings of the Convention parliament, which had been composed of the peers, the surviving members of the three last Houses of Commons, and the Corporation of London; and in the famous Act of Settlement passed by that body on the 12th of February, 1709, the crown, with proper and nicely defined limitations to its power, was conferred jointly upon the Prince and Princess of Orange, with remainder successively to the issue of the latter, to the princess Anne and her children, and to the heirs of William by any other wife.

The Jacobites of Scotland, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland, resolutely opposed this salutary settlement, and endeavoured to reinstate King James. The death of the gallant, but selfish, unscrupulous, and sanguinary Viscount Dundee, in the battle of Killcrankie, soon put an end to the civil-war in Scotland; but in Ireland the struggle was protracted, costly, and bloody. Seeing that his lieutenants were not sufficiently active, William went over to Ireland and told them he had not come to let the

grass grow under his horse's feet : he took, in person, the command of the army, gave a signal defeat to the enemy at the passage of the Boyne, and, before the close of the year 1691, all Ireland was reduced to a peaceful submission.

The day before forcing the passage of the Boyne, while reconnoitring on the bank, he was slightly wounded on the right shoulder. Lord Comingsby rode up to his majesty and clapped his handkerchief on the wound ; but the King said coolly that it needed not—that the ball should have come nearer to do him harm.

Meanwhile William had the satisfaction—the greatest, probably, which his new dignity gave him—of engaging England in the League of Augsburg. The war of that confederacy against Louis XIV., of which the principal conduct was intrusted to William, though it effectually checked for the time the aggrandizement of France, was not so successful as might have been anticipated : neither the English parliament nor the States-General were sufficiently liberal in granting supplies ; some of the allied powers were either lukewarm in the great European cause, or were incapable of making the adequate exertions ; there was—as in all coalitions—a frequent divergence of interests, opinions, and plans ; and in the field, William, though a hero, and a skilful general, wanted that lucky star, or good fortune, which the ancients numbered among the indispensable attributes of a great general ; and he sustained in the course of this war two severe defeats,—at Steinkirk and Neerwinden,—from the French under the Duke of Luxembourg. But, in no way disheartened, the Stadtholder-King, after this, outmanœuvred Marshal Villeroy, and successfully undertook and finished the siege of Namur. During this siege, which is one of the most memorable of modern times—William, though a valetudinarian, shared in the fatigues as well as the dangers of the common soldiery. By the treaty of Ryswick, which was concluded on the 20th of September, 1697, the much weakened French monarch restored to the Empire, to Spain, to Holland, to the Duke of Lorraine, and to minor potentates, nearly every thing

that he had taken from them ; he recognised William as King of England, and solemnly engaged to abandon the cause of the exiled family.

Except as increasing his means of defeating the ambitious projects of Louis XIV., the possession of the English throne had given William little happiness. Though almost the entire nation had at first so heartily concurred in the Revolution of 1688, the Tory and high church party were, in general, indisposed to the pretensions and person of the new King ; and the Whigs and the low church party considered that the services they had rendered could be adequately compensated only by a complete monopoly of power and place. The Tories would have sent him back to Holland ; the Whigs would have made him the king of a party—a Whig King, without consideration or bowels of compassion for any but Whigs. There were exceptions, but, generally, these Whigs—more especially when out of place, or when threatened with the loss of office—were full of jealousy of the royal power. At the same time the King's cold reserved temper, and not very gracious manner, tended to alienate the mind of his subjects in general. But this reserve was increased by manifold proofs that many of those who surrounded him, and who had invited him to the throne, were secretly corresponding with the deposed and unaltered James. His most favourite schemes were constantly thwarted in parliament ; his whole reign was harassed with intrigues of faction and plans of insurrection at home ; and his life and throne were assailed from abroad with base plots of assassination by the adherents of James, and with projects of invasion undertaken by Louis for the restoration of the dethroned King. For a long time the queen, his wife, never saw him leave the palace without a sad foreboding that she would not see him return alive. To add to his distresses, Mary, to whom he was deeply attached, died of the small-pox, as early as the 28th of December, 1694, in the thirty-third year of her age. During her illness he called Bishop Burnet into his closet, and gave free vent to a most tender passion. "He burst into tears," says the

Bishop, "and cried out that there was no hope, and that, from the happiest, he was now going to be the most miserable creature upon earth. He said, during the whole course of their marriage, he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her which nobody knew besides himself. . . . The King's affliction for her death was as great as it was just; it was greater than those who knew him best thought his temper capable of: he went beyond all bounds in it: during her sickness he was in an agony that amazed us all, fainting often, and breaking out into most violent lamentations: when she died, his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend that he was following her; for some weeks after he was so little master of himself that he was not capable of minding business or of seeing company." But faction would not respect this deep-seated grief. The decease of Mary, as she left no issue, terminated all claim of her husband to the crown in the eyes of that part of the nation who had been reconciled to his government by the semblance of hereditary right in her participation of the throne. To stir directly for the restoration of James was too daring and hopeless a measure even for the most determined of the Jacobites; but that party pretended that, by the Act of Settlement, the Protestant Princess Anne ought to be called to the throne; and by degrees the great body of the Tories took up this notion. By means of the lord keeper—the great and wise Somers,—Anne was detached from the machinations of this faction, and reconciled with William, who gave her the whole or greater part of her deceased sister's jewels. But, from this moment, the King's measures experienced a systematic opposition from all parties. The very first use which was made in parliament of the peace of Ryswick was to compel him to reduce the army to an insignificant remnant of guards and garrisons, and to send out of the kingdom the regiments of French Protestant refugees as well as his own Dutch guards; and these, and other thickly-gathering, and factiously and maliciously intended mortifications and insults, had such an effect upon his mind as to extort from him a passion-

ate expression of his regret at ever having interfered in the affairs of a nation at once so ungrateful and so suspicious. The reduction was enforced only a few months after the discovery of the most desperate of all the conspiracies that had been entered into against his life—the plot of Barclay, Charnock, Perkins, Fenwick, Porter, &c.—and at a moment when William might fairly consider that his life was not safe in England without his Dutch guards. That veteran band and most of those regimented Huguenots had faithfully followed him in all his fortunes, had bravely fought by his side in Holland, in Ireland, in Flanders, and on the French frontiers; and, in England, their united numbers were far too inconsiderable to give any rational cause of alarm. Yet the leaders of faction, pretending to be patriots—self-seeking, unprincipled men, who would have thrown their country prostrate at the feet of the shallowest and most vindictive of despots, who would have brought back James II. by means of a *French invasion*, clamoured and raved against the expenses and perils of any standing army, and called for the instant dismissal of this small force, as its stay in England must endanger the country's liberties and constitution. To increase the King's vexation and real cause of alarm, every day was bringing him intelligence that Louis XIV., who, spite of the treaty of Ryswick, still kept the exiled Stuarts at St. Germain, and who had in no sense given up the cause of that family, or renounced his clandestine correspondence with their partizans in England, was preparing for a renewal of the war. William is said, in one moment of violently excited feeling, to have threatened to follow his Dutch guards to the Continent, and to return no more to this island.

From the annoyances of his position in England, he sought relief by renewing with more ardour than ever his attention to the affairs of Europe, and by pursuing his darling project of humbling the power of the French king, and keeping that monarch within such limits as would be consistent with the independence and tranquillity of the other continental nations. His innermost con-

viction was, that the balance of power would be destroyed, and Europe exposed to frequent wars and invasions, if the French were allowed to incorporate Lorraine and Alsace, to make encroachments on the sides of the Alps and Pyrenees, and to extend their dominion along the left bank of the Rhine. And now there was a prospect of a far wider extension than this—of French dominion or dictation, by family connexion, in the great peninsula beyond the Pyrenees. Charles II., the childish and childless monarch of Spain, was in a most precarious state of health, and the pretensions of the House of Bourbon to the inheritance of his dominions were notorious. To arrest these impending evils William successively negotiated two treaties of partition for the Spanish monarchy, to both of which Louis XIV. was an artful and faithless subscriber; for, when the Spanish King, controlled by the French party that surrounded him during his sickness, and worked into indignation by the notion that other powers should dismember and distribute his dominions, bequeathed them all at his death, in 1700, to Philip duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, Louis XIV., in spite of every obligation of treaties, accepted the testament for his grandson, and put his armies in motion for the Pyrenees.

William, now declining in health, was sensibly affected by this defeat of all his diplomatic labours; but he applied himself with his usual energy to form a new league against France; and the insulting conduct of Louis, at this crisis, in giving the son of James II., on the death of that prince, the title of King of England, so exasperated the mass of the British nation (who had far higher and nobler feelings than most of their legislators), that they eagerly seconded William's wish for a declaration of war. But in the midst of eager preparations for the commencement of hostilities, William's life was suddenly brought to a close. He had suffered much during the winter, and in his more familiar conversations with his trusty friend Lord Albemarle, he had intimated serious apprehensions; but his unshaken mind maintained a most manful struggle with the weakness of his body;

he continued to toil in his cabinet, and, at his moments of relaxation, to take that hard exercise to which he had accustomed himself. As spring approached, hopes were entertained of his recovery. On Saturday the 21st of February, though his legs were swollen, he set out from Kensington, on horseback, to hunt at Hampton Court. As he was galloping along the road near Hampton the horse stumbled, and fell violently; and the King fractured his right collar-bone. His majesty was carried to Hampton Court, where the bone was set. That same evening, contrary to medical advice, he returned to Kensington. The setting was deranged by the motion of the carriage; but the fracture was soon reduced again. For several days no bad symptoms appeared, or, if they appeared, they were kept secret. On the 28th of February he sent a message to both Houses of parliament, earnestly recommending them to set on foot immediately a proper treaty for the union of England and Scotland. This was William's last public act; and no scheme or intention could well be wiser or greater; though, even here, a certain class of writers, who pursue the greatest man of the age to the very tomb with animosity and rancour, can find matter at which to cavil. The very day after sending the two messages, the King was alarmingly ill. On the 3rd of March he was seized with fever and ague. On the 7th Lord Albemarle arrived from Holland to comfort him with some very good news; but he said to his lordship—"*Je tire vers ma fin.*"—(I am drawing near my end.) He expired at Kensington Palace, in the evening of Sunday the 8th of March, 1702, in the 52nd year of his age. When he was dead a bracelet made of his wife's hair was found upon his arm.

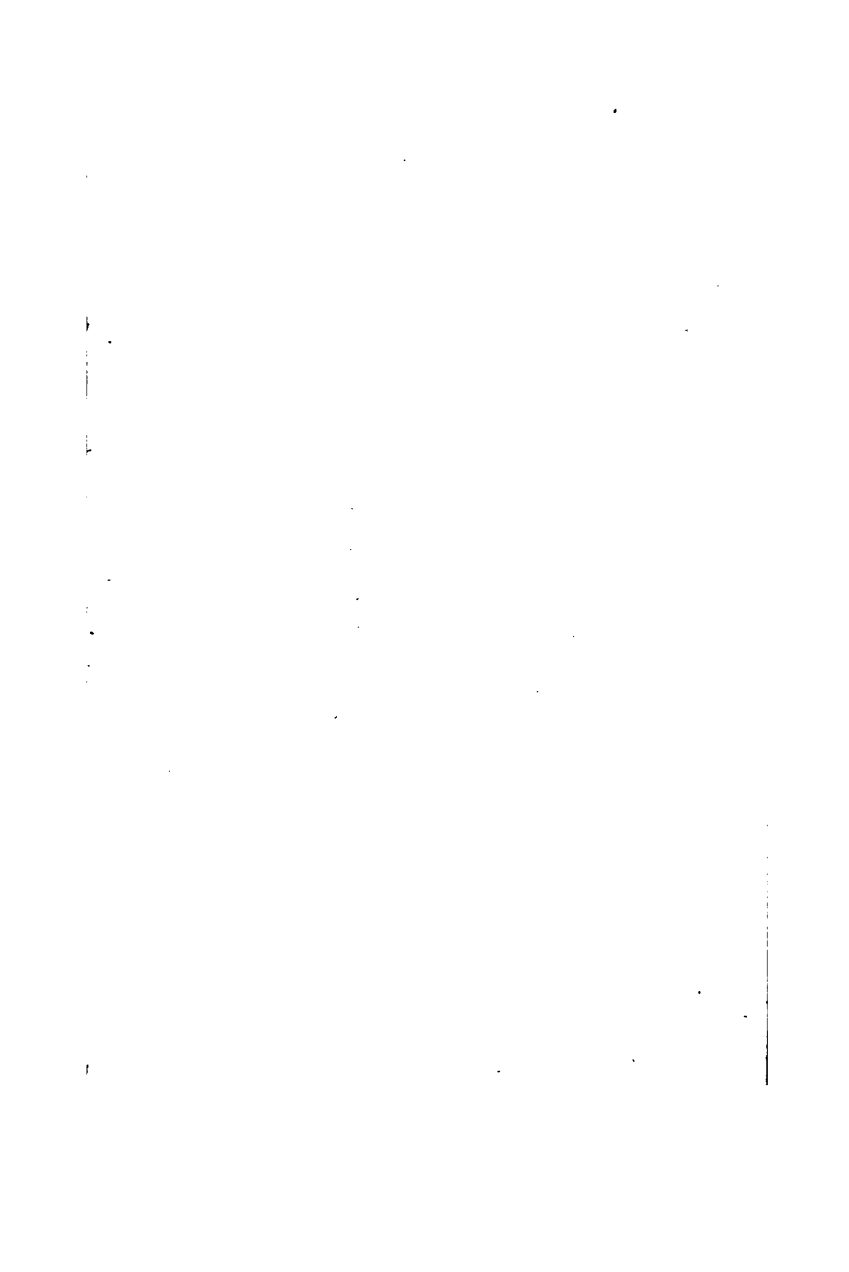
There were blemishes in his reign, although in no one instance can the culpability, or a tithe of it, be laid to his single share; and there were defects in his personal character, or, perhaps, rather, in his bearing and manners, which seem generally to have been considered as unattractive if not repulsive; but let every deduction be made, and even every censure of his enemies and detractors be admitted, still William III. must remain on

his lofty pedestal, as one of the greatest, wisest, and best kings that have ever worn the English crown. So long as the revolution of 1688 is called the "Glorious Revolution," and the Constitution which flowed from it is held in esteem, even so long must England owe a debt of gratitude to his memory. But for his rare combination of personal qualities this experiment would have failed. We had not, among our public men, sufficient steadiness and *honesty* of purpose, or valour and genius enough to face the crisis. As well in relation to the distracted, demoralized state of England, as with regard to the cause of religious liberty on the Continent, William might indeed be called "The man of God's right hand, whom he made strong for himself."

Burnet, who was much about his person, having "observed him very carefully in a course of sixteen years;" and who, on the whole, speaks impartially of him, not attempting to conceal his defects, says, among other particulars,—“William had a thin and weak body, was brown haired, and of a clear and delicate complexion; he had a Roman eagle nose, bright and sparkling eyes, a large front [forehead], and a countenance composed to gravity and authority: all his senses were critical and exquisite. He was always asthmatical, and the dregs of the small-pox falling on his lungs, he had a constant deep cough. His behaviour was solemnly serious, seldom cheerful, and then but with a few: he spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness, which was his character at all times, except in a day of battle; for then he was all fire, though without passion: he was then everywhere and looked to everything He spoke Dutch, French, English, and German, equally well; and he understood Latin, Spanish, and Italian, so that he was well fitted to command armies composed of several nations. He had a memory that amazed all about him, for it never failed him; he was an exact observer of men and things; his strength lay rather in a true discerning and a sound judgment, than in imagination or invention: his designs were always great and good; but it was thought he trusted

too much to that, and that he did not descend enough to the humours of his people to make himself and his notions more acceptable to them His reservedness grew on him, so that it disgusted most of those who served him; but he had observed the error of too much talking, more than those of too cold a silence He knew all foreign affairs well, and understood the state of every court in Europe very particularly” He was a devout Calvinist, and yet a warm friend to toleration—at least among all Protestant churches and sects. To the mere forms of church government he was very indifferent. His belief in predestination, or in absolute decrees, was as fixed as that of Napoleon Buonaparte in destiny or in his star. He had a horror of atheism and blasphemy,—“and though,” says Burnet, “there was much of *both* in his court, yet it was always denied to him, and kept out of sight.” He was scrupulously true to his word, when once pledged, and constant and warm in his attachment to his friends. By his wife, and by all those who best knew him, he was tenderly beloved. His character appears very advantageously in his private and confidential correspondence. The English nation, or rather the low-minded legislature of the day, were ungrateful to him through life, and disrespectful to him after death. They gave the great prince a private and meanly parsimonious funeral; and for many years no monument, statue, or tablet was erected to his memory.

With the death of William III. the male line of William the Silent became extinct; but William had named for his personal heir his cousin John William Friso, Prince of Nassau Dietz (grandson of his aunt Albertina Agnes by William Frederic of Nassau Dietz) from whom the present regal line of Orange is descended.





MR. B. B.



JOHN LOCKE was born at Wrington near Bristol, on the 29th August, 1632. By the advice of Colonel Popham, under whom Locke's father had served in the parliamentary wars, Locke was placed at Westminster School, from which he was elected in 1651 to Christ Church, Oxford. He applied himself at that university with great diligence to the study of classical literature; and by the private reading of the works of Bacon and Descartes, he sought to acquire that aliment for his philosophical spirit which he did not find in the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy, as taught in the schools of Oxford. Though the writings of Descartes may have contributed, by their precision and scientific method, to the formation of his philosophical style, yet, if we may judge from the simply controversial notices of them in the 'Essay concerning Human Understanding,' they appear to have exercised a negative influence on the mind of Locke; while the principle of the Baconian method of observation gave

to it that taste for experimental studies which forms the basis of his own system, and probably determined his choice of a profession. He adopted that of medicine, which, however, the weakness of his constitution prevented him from practising.

In 1664 Locke visited Berlin as Secretary to Sir W. Swan, envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg; but after a year he returned to Oxford, where he accidentally formed the acquaintance of Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. Locke accepted the invitation of this nobleman to reside in his house; and from this time he attached himself to his fortunes during life, and after death vindicated his memory and honour. (*Mémoires pour servir à la Vie d'Antoine Ashley, Comte de Shaftesbury, tirées des Papiers de feu M. Locke, et rédigées par Le Clerc, Biblioth. Choisie*, t. vii. p. 146.) In the house of Shaftesbury Locke became acquainted with some of the most eminent men of the day, and was introduced to the Earl of Northumberland, whom, in 1668, he accompanied on a tour into France. Upon the death of the Earl, he returned to England, where he again found a home in the house of Lord Ashley, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Locke was employed to draw up a constitution for the government of Carolina, which province had been granted by Charles II. to Lord Ashley with seven others.

In 1670 Locke commenced his investigations into the nature and extent of the human understanding, but his numerous avocations long protracted the completion of his work. In 1672, when Ashley was created Earl of Shaftesbury and made Lord Chancellor, Locke was appointed Secretary of Presentations. This situation he held until Shaftesbury resigned the great seal, when he exchanged it for that of Secretary to the Board of Trade, of which the Earl still retained the post of President.

In 1675 Locke was admitted to the degree of Bachelor in Medicine, and in the summer of the same year visited France, being apprehensive of consumption. At Montpellier, where he ultimately took up his residence, he formed the acquaintance of the Earl of Pembroke, to

whom he afterwards dedicated his 'Essay concerning Human Understanding.' In 1679 Locke was recalled to England by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had been restored to favour and appointed President of the Council. Six months afterwards however he was again disgraced, and, after a short imprisonment in the Tower, was ultimately compelled to leave England in 1682, to avoid a prosecution for high treason. Locke followed his patron to Holland, where, even after the death of Shaftesbury, he continued to reside; for the hostility of the court was transferred to Locke, and notwithstanding a weak opposition on the part of the Dean, his name was erased, by royal mandate of the 16th of November, 1684, from the number of the students of Christ Church. But the rancour of the court party extended its persecution of Locke even into Holland, and in the following year the English envoy demanded of the States-General the delivery of Mr. Locke, with eighty-three other persons, on the charge of participating in the expedition of the Duke of Monmouth. Fortunately Locke found friends to conceal him until either the court was satisfied of his innocence or the fury of persecution had passed away. During his residence in Holland he became acquainted with Limborch, Le Clerc, and other learned men attached to the cause of free inquiry, both in religion and politics. Having completed his 'Essay concerning Human Understanding' in 1687, he made an abridgment of it, which was translated into French by Le Clerc, who inserted it in one of his Bibliothèques. In that of 1686 he had already published his 'Adversarium Methodus, or a New Method of a Common-place Book,' which was originally written in French, and was afterwards first published in English among his posthumous works. In the 'Bibliothèque' of 1688 appeared his Letter on Toleration, addressed to Limborch, which was soon translated into Latin, and published the next year at Gouda. On the Revolution of 1688, Locke returned to England in the fleet which conveyed the Princess of Orange. In reward for his sufferings in the cause of liberty, Locke now ob-

tained, through the interest of Lord Mordaunt, the situation of Commissioner of Appeals, with a salary of 200*l.* a-year. In 1690 his reputation as a philosophical writer was established by the publication of his 'Essay concerning Human Understanding,' which met with immense success. Independent of the merits of the work itself as an attempt to apply the Baconian method of observation and experience to establish a theory of human knowledge, many circumstances contributed to its success: among others, the personal celebrity of the author as a friend of civil and religious liberty, and the attempt made at Oxford to prevent its being read in the colleges, a measure which could not fail to have a contrary effect. Numerous editions passed rapidly through the press, and translations having been made of it into Latin and French, the fame of the author was quickly spread throughout Europe. In the same year Locke published a second letter on Toleration, in answer to an attack on his first letter by Jonas Proast, a clergyman of Queen's College, Oxford, as well as two treatises on Government. These essays were intended generally to answer the partisans of the exiled king, who called the existing Government a usurpation, but particularly to refute the principles advanced in the 'Patriarcha' of Sir Robert Filmer, who had maintained that men are not naturally free, and therefore could not be at liberty to choose either governors or forms of government, and that all legitimate government is an absolute monarchy. The first essay is devoted to the refutation of the arguments by which Sir Robert supports these principles, and which are ultimately reduced to this, that all government was originally invested by God in Adam as the father of all mankind, and that kings, as the representatives of Adam, are possessed of the same unlimited authority as parents exercise over their children. In the second essay Locke proceeds to establish, what had been the leading dogma of the Puritans and Independents, that the legitimacy of a government depends solely and ultimately on the popular sanction or the consent of men making use of their

reason to unite together into a society or societies. The philosophical basis of this treatise formed a model for the 'Contrat Social' of Rousseau.

The air of London disagreeing with Locke, who suffered from a constitutional complaint of asthma, he accepted the offer of apartments in the house of his friend Sir Francis Masham, at Oates in Essex, where he resided for the remainder of his life. In this retirement he wrote his third letter on Toleration, which called forth a reply from Locke's former antagonist on the subject; in answer to whom a fourth letter, in an unfinished state, was published after the death of Locke. In 1698 he first gave to the world his 'Thoughts upon Education,' to which likewise Rousseau is largely indebted for his 'Emile.' Though appointed one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in 1695, Locke still found leisure for writing. The Treatise, which was published in this year, 'On the Reasonableness of Christianity,' was intended to facilitate the execution of a design which William III. had adopted to reconcile and unite all sects of professing Christians, and accordingly the object of the tract was to determine what, amid so many conflicting views of religion, were the points of belief common to all. This work being attacked by Dr. Edwards, in his 'Socinianism unmasked,' Locke published in defence of it a first and a second 'Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity,' &c. In 1697 Locke was again engaged in the controversy, in consequence of the publication of a 'Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity,' by Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, in which the bishop had censured certain passages in the 'Essay concerning Human Understanding,' as tending to subvert the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Against this charge Locke ably vindicated his Essay; and the controversy, after having been maintained for some time, was at length terminated by the death of Stillingfleet.

Locke's health had now become so impaired, that he determined to resign his office of commissioner of trade and plantations. He refused to receive a pension which was offered him, and which his services in the public cause,

had amply merited. From the time of his retirement he resided always at Oates, and devoted the remainder of his life to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Among others of his religious labours at this period, a 'Discourse on Miracles,' and 'Paraphrases with notes, of the Epistles of St. Paul,' together with an 'Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles by consulting St. Paul himself,' were published among his posthumous papers. These contained also the work, 'Of the Conduct of the Understanding,' and an 'Examination of Father Malebranche's opinion of seeing all things in God.' He died on the 28th October, 1704, in the seventy-third year of his age.

The personal character of Locke was in complete harmony with the opinions which he so zealously and so ably advocated. Truly attached to the cause of liberty, he was also willing to suffer for it. Perfectly disinterested, and without any personal objects at stake in the political views which he adopted, he never deviated from moderation, and the sincerity of his own profession rendered him tolerant of what he believed to be the conscientious sentiments of others.

As a writer Locke has a happy facility in expressing his meaning with perspicuity in the simplest and most familiar language. Clearness indeed is the leading character of his composition, which is a fair specimen of the best prose of the period. His style however is rather diffuse than precise, the same thought being presented under a great variety of aspects, while his reasonings are somewhat prolix, and his elucidations of a principle occasionally unnecessarily prolonged. These are faults however which, though they may materially detract from the merits of his composition as a model of critical correctness, have nevertheless greatly tended to make his 'Essay concerning Human Understanding' a popular work.

A rapid analysis of this Essay is necessary to enable us to form a right estimate of the philosophical merits of Locke.

As all human knowledge ultimately reposes, both in legitimacy and extent, on the range and correctness of

the cognitive faculty, which Locke designates by the term 'understanding,' Locke proposes to determine what objects our understanding is and is not fitted to deal with. With this view he proposes in the first place to inquire into the origin of ideas; and in the next place, to show the nature of that knowledge which is acquired by those ideas, and its certainty, evidence, and extent; and lastly, to determine the nature and grounds of assent or opinion.

Before entering upon this investigation Locke gets rid of a supposition which, if once admitted, would render all such inquiry useless. The refutation of the theory of innate ideas and principles of knowledge is the subject-matter of the first book of the *Essay*. Generally, he observes, the common assent of men to certain fundamental principles may be explained otherwise than by the supposition of their being innate; and consequently the hypothesis is unnecessary. But, in particular, he denies that there are any such universal and primary principles as are admitted by all men, and known as soon as developed, for to these two heads he reduces all the arguments usually advanced in support of this hypothesis. Thus of speculative principles he takes the principles of contradiction and identity, and shows, by an inductive appeal to savages, infants, and idiots, that they are not universally acknowledged; and as to their being primary, he appeals to observation of the infant mind, as proving that they are far from being the first ideas of which the human mind is conscious. The principles of morals are next submitted to a similar examination; and lastly, he shows that no ideas are innate: for this purpose he selects the ideas of God and substance, which, by a like appeal to savage nations and children, he proves to be neither universal nor primary, and arrives at the conclusion that neither particular ideas nor general principles of knowledge or morals are antecedent to experience.

The only source of human knowledge is experience, which is two-fold, either internal or external, according as it is employed about sensible objects or the operations

of our minds. Hence, there are two kinds of ideas, ideas of sensation and ideas of reflection. Reflection might properly be called an internal sense. The latter are subsequent to the former, and are inferior in distinctness to those furnished to the mind through the sensuous impressions of outward objects. Without conscientiousness it is, according to Locke, impossible to have an idea; for to have an idea and to be conscious of it is the same thing. He accordingly maintains, at great length, against Descartes, that the mind does not always think, and that its essence does not consist in thinking.

Now all ideas, whether of sensation or reflection, correspond to their objects, and there is no knowledge of things possible except as determined by our ideas. These ideas are either simple, and not admitting of further reduction, or complex. The simple rise from the inner or outer sense; and they are ultimately the sole materials of all knowledge, for all complex ideas may be resolved into them. The understanding cannot originate any simple ideas, or change them, but must passively receive them as they are presented to it. Locke here makes the first attempt to give an analysis of the sensuous faculty, to refer to each of the senses the ideas derived from them separately, or from the combined operation of several. Thus light and colour are derived from vision alone, but extension and figure from the joint action of sight and touch. While the outer sense gives the ideas of solidity, space, extension, figure, motion, and rest, and those of thought and will are furnished by the inner sense, or reflection, it is by the combined operation of both that we acquire the ideas of existence, unity, power, and the like. In reference to the agreement of ideas with their objects, Locke draws an important distinction between primary and secondary qualities: the former belong really to objects, and are inseparable from them, and are extension, solidity, figure, and motion; the latter, which are colour, smell, sounds, and tastes, cannot be considered as real qualities of objects, but still, as they are powers in objects themselves to produce various sensations in the mind, their reality must in so far be admitted. Of the

operations of the understanding upon its ideas, perception and retention are passive, but discerning is active. By perception Locke understands the consciousness or the faculty of perceiving whatever takes place within the mind; it is the inlet of knowledge, while retention is the general power by which ideas once received are preserved. This faculty acts either by keeping the ideas brought into it for some time actually in view, which is called contemplation or attention, the pleasure or pain by which certain ideas are impressed on the senses, contributing to fix them in the mind; or else by repetition, when the mind exerts a power to revive ideas which after being imprinted have disappeared. This is memory, which is, as it were, the storehouse of ideas. The ideas thus often *refreshed*, or repeated, fix themselves most clearly and lastingly in the mind. But in memory the mind is oftentimes more than barely passive, the re-appearance of obliterated pictures or ideas depending on the will. Discerning, by which term he designates the logical activity of the intellect, consists in comparing and compounding certain simple ideas, or in conceiving them apart from certain relations of time and place. This is called abstraction, by means of which particular ideas are advanced to generals. By composition the mind forms a multitude of complex ideas, which are either modes, substances, or relations.

Locke then proceeds to show in detail how certain complex ideas are formed out of simple ones. The idea of space is got by the senses of sight and touch together; certain combinations of relations in space are measures, and the power of adding measure to measure without limits is that which gives the idea of immensity.

Figure is the relation which the parts of the termination of a circumscribed space have within themselves. He then proceeds to refute the Cartesian doctrine, that body and extension are the same; and maintains that while body is full, space is empty, and that all bodies may easily pass into it; and while the latter is not physically divisible, that is, has not moveable parts, the parts of the former are moveable, and itself is physically

divisible. What however space is actually, is left undetermined. He asserts the existence of a vacuum beyond the utmost bounds of body, and this is proved by the power of annihilation and the possibility of motion. The idea of succession arises from the perception of a continued series of sensations, and by observing the distance between two parts of the series we gain the idea of duration, which, when determined by a certain measure, suggests that of time; and as we arrive at the idea of immensity by the perception that we can enlarge any given extension without limit, so the unchecked repetition of succession originates that of eternity. That of power is formed partly by a perception that outward objects are produced and destroyed by others, partly by that of the action of objects on the senses, but chiefly from that of the mind's internal operations. The latter suggests the idea of active power, the former of passive. Now the will is the power of producing the presence or absence of a particular idea, or to produce motion or rest, and liberty is the power to think or not, to act or not to act, according as appears good to the mind. The will is determined by the understanding, which itself is influenced by a feeling of the unfitness of a present state, which is called desire.

As to the origin of the idea of substance:—we often find certain ideas connected together; and in consequence of this invariable association, we conceive of them as a single idea; and as the qualities which originate these ideas have no separate subsistence in themselves, we are driven to suppose the existence of a 'somewhat' as a support of these qualities. To this somewhat we give the name of substance, and relatively to it all qualities are called accidents.

Of the ideas of relation, those of cause and effect are got from the observation that several particulars, both qualities and substances, begin to exist, and receive their existence, from the due application and operation of some other being. In the same manner the ideas of identity and diversity are derived from experience. When we compare an object with itself at different times and

places, and find it to be the same, we arrive at the idea of identity. Whatever has the same beginning in reference to time and place is the same, and a material aggregate which neither decreases nor lessens is the same; but in organical and living creatures, identity is determined not merely by the duration of the material mass, but by that of the organical structure and the continuance of consciousness. Lastly, moral good and evil are relations. Good and evil are nothing but that which occasions pleasure and pain; and moral good and evil are the conformity of human actions to some law whereby physical good or evil is produced by the will and power of the law-maker. Law is of three kinds: divine law, which measures sin and duty; civil, which determines crime and innocence; and philosophical, or the law of opinion or reputation, which measures virtue and vice.

Having thus examined the origin and composition of ideas, Locke proceeds to determine their general characters. He divides them accordingly into clear and obscure, distinct and confused, into real and fantastical, adequate and inadequate, and lastly, into true and false. In treating of this last distinction, he observes that all ideas are in themselves true; and they are not capable of being false until some judgment is passed upon them, or, in other words, until something is asserted or denied of them. But there is also this property in ideas, that one suggests another, and this is the so-called association of ideas. There are associations of ideas which are natural and necessary, as well as arbitrary, false, and unnatural combinations. The danger of the last is vividly pointed out, which often arise from our having seen objects connected together by chance. Hence the association, which was originally purely accidental, is invariably connected in the imagination, which consequently biasses the judgment. Hence, too, a number of errors, not only of opinion but of sentiment, giving rise to unnatural sympathies and antipathies which not unfrequently closely verge upon madness. This gives occasion to a variety of judicious observations on the right conduct of education, the means of guarding against the formation

of such unnatural combinations of ideas, and the method of correcting them when once formed, and of restoring the regular and due associations which have their ground in the very nature of the human mind and its ideas. What however are the leading laws of association Locke has not attempted to determine.

Before passing from this deduction of ideas to the examination of the nature and extent of the knowledge which is acquired by means of them, Locke devotes the third book of his *Essay* to the investigation of language and signs, which it is not important for our purpose to state.

Locke then proceeds to determine the nature, validity, and limits of the human understanding. All knowledge, strictly defined, is the perception of the agreement or disagreement of ideas, and is consequently limited to them. It extends therefore only so far as we are able to perceive the validity of the combinations and relations of our ideas, that is, so far as we are enabled to discover them by intuition, demonstration, and sensation. Intuition, which Locke calls an immediate perception of relation, does not apply to all ideas; many must be proved by means of some intermediate ideas. This is the province of demonstration, every step of which however is an act of intuition. Demonstration again does not apply to the proof of all ideas, since in the case of many no middle ideas can be found by means of which the comparison may be made. Sensation is still more limited, being confined to what is actually passing in each sense. Generally, all knowledge directs itself to identity or diversity, co-existence, relation, and the real existence of things. Identity and diversity are perceived by intuition, and we cannot have an idea without perceiving at the same time that it is different from all others. With regard to co-existence our knowledge is unlimited; for our ideas of substances are mere collections or aggregates of certain single ideas in one subject; and from the nature of these single ideas, it is impossible to see how far they are or are not combinable with others. Hence we cannot determine what qualities any object may possess

in addition to those already known to us. As to the actual existence of things, we have no intuitive knowledge thereof, except in the case of our existence; that of God is demonstrative, but of all other objects we only sensuously know that they exist, that is, we perceive mediately by sensation their existence or presence.

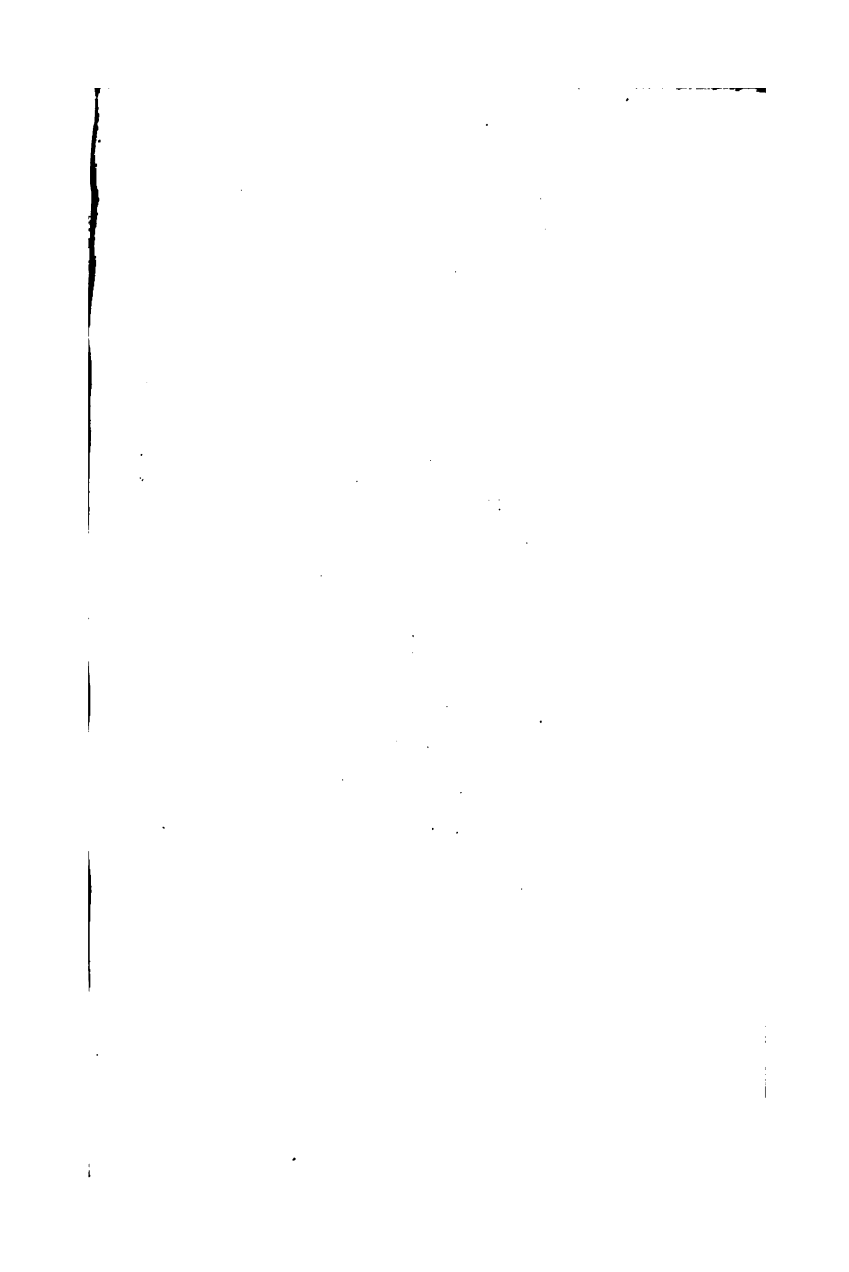
Locke next passes to an examination of propositions, axioms, and definitions. The utility of axioms is denied on the ground that they are not the only self-evident propositions, and because equal if not greater certainty is contained in all particular identical propositions and limited cases. Moreover they do not serve to facilitate knowledge, for all particular propositions will find a more ready assent; as, for instance, the proposition, twice two are four, will be more easily admitted than that the whole is equal to its parts. Moreover axioms are not useful for the proof of all lower propositions involved in them; they cannot consequently form the basis of any science: for example, no science has ever been raised on the basis of the principle of contradiction. They do not even contribute to the enlargement of knowledge; the false as well as the true may be proved by them, and consequently they serve at best but for endless dispute. Among these barren and unprofitable propositions, Locke reckons not merely those that are identical, but analytical also, or those in which a property contained in a complex idea is predicated of it: *e. g.* Every man is an animal. By such judgments or propositions we learn in fact nothing, and our knowledge is not increased in the least degree. Knowledge can only be extended by such judgments as predicate of a subject some quality or property which is not already involved in the idea of it. Synthetical propositions therefore are alone of value. In the next place he examines certain metaphysical problems, and concludes of most of them that they do not admit of any precise solution, while others might easily be set at rest if men would only come to the investigation of them free from all prejudices. Some very valuable remarks are added upon the source of error, and on enthusiasm and faith, the due limits of

which are pointed out, and the important truth repeatedly insisted upon, that reason is the ultimate test of revelation. The work concludes with a division of the object-matter of science or knowledge, which he makes to be threefold. 1, Natural philosophy, or physica, which is the knowledge of things both corporeal and spiritual. The end of this is speculative truth. 2, Ethics, or practica, which is the skill of rightly applying our powers and actions for the attainment of things good and useful, the end of it being not bare speculation, but right, and a conduct suitable to it. 3, The doctrine of signs (*σημειωτική*), the business of which is to consider the nature of the signs which the mind makes use of for the understanding of things or the conveying of its ideas to others. This is the most general as well as most natural division of the objects of the understanding. For man can employ his thoughts about nothing but either the contemplation of things for the discovery of truth; or about the things in his own power, which are his own actions for the attainment of his ends; or the signs which the mind makes use of in both, and the right ordering of them for its information.

Such is the celebrated Essay which has formed the basis of more than one school of modern philosophy, whose very opposite views may indeed find some support in the occasional variations and self-contradictions of its author. For it must be admitted that it is deficient in that scientific rigour and unity of view which preclude all inconsistency of detail. Nevertheless, rightly to appreciate Locke's philosophical merits, all contradictory passages must be neglected, or interpreted by the general spirit of his system. Attaching our attention then to the common mould and whole bearing of the Essay, we must conclude that the authority of Locke is unduly claimed by the followers of Condillac and the ideologists of France, whose object it was to approximate as closely as possible the rational thought and sensuous perception, and to explain the former as simply a result of the latter. For although Locke took in hand the defence of the sensuous element of knowledge, and, in opposition to

Descartes and the idealists, endeavoured to show that in the attainment of science we set out from the sensible as the earlier and the better known, still he was far from denying that the rational thought, which is the perfection of human cognition, is really and truly distinct from the motions of the mind or soul occasioned by sensation. Setting out with the assumption of the permanence of ideas in the mind, Locke proceeds to illustrate the development of the particular into the general ; and having then shown their difference from the unreal creations of the fancy, proceeds to determine their degree of verity. This description of the advance from the simple idea to universals and to knowledge, evidently implies an independent and spontaneous activity of the mind, which assents to the sensuous impressions, and confirms them by its conviction. Locke therefore is far from looking upon human science and knowledge as the simple results of the impressions produced by external objects on the senses. Nevertheless there is another aspect of his theory which in some degree justifies the use which has been made of his name, and under which he appears to be proceeding in the direction of thought, of which the ideologists have attained to the height. Knowledge as well as sensation is looked upon as the joint result of the reciprocal action of outward objects and the mental faculties, wherein as much depends on the qualities of the external as on those of the internal. While he admits that assent is entirely subjective, he nevertheless grants that outward objects constrain it ; and as a consequence of such a view, he teaches that notwithstanding the idea produced in the mind by an outward object be a passive affection of the mind, it nevertheless reveals to the mind its efficient cause ; and that to this manifestation of outward objects by the senses there is invariably attached, as by a necessary consequence, the judgment that those objects exist really. It is therefore clear that, according to Locke, we receive from the senses not merely the object-matter of knowledge, but that likewise the forms under which we conceive of objects are furnished to the mind from the same source.

The works of Locke have been collected and frequently published in 8 vols. fol., and a *Life* of him was written in 1772; but the most complete and best edition is that in 10 vols. 8vo., London, 1801 and 1812. A *Life* of Locke was published in 1829, by the late Lord King, a lineal descendant of his sister.





W. G. R. D. S. C. M. D. R. S.



JOHN SOMERS was born at Worcester, in an ancient house called the White Ladies, which, as its name seems to import, had formerly been part of a monastery or convent. The exact date of his birth cannot be ascertained, as the parish registers at Worcester, during the civil wars between Charles I. and his Parliament, were either wholly lost, or so inaccurately kept as not to furnish any authentic information. It appears probable, however, from several concurring accounts, that he was born about the year 1650. The family of Somers was respectable, though not wealthy, and had for several generations been possessed of an estate at Clifton, in the parish of Severnstoke, in Gloucestershire. Admiral Sir George Somers, who in the reign of James I. was shipwrecked on the Bermudas, and afterwards died there, leaving his name to that cluster of islands, is said by Horace Walpole, in his 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors,' to have been a member of the same family.

The father of Somers was an attorney, in respectable practice at Worcester; who, in the civil wars, became a zealous Parliamentarian, and commanded a troop in Cromwell's army. His mother was Catherine Ceaverne, of a good family in Shropshire.

Of the early education of Somers, we have only a meagre and unsatisfactory account. The house called the White Ladies, in which he was born, was occupied by a Mr. Blurton, an eminent clothier of Worcester, who had married his father's sister. This lady, having no son of her own, adopted Somers from his birth, and brought him up in her house, which he always considered as his home till he went to the university. He appears for some years to have been a day-scholar in the college school at Worcester, which before his time had attained a high character for classical education, under the superintendence of Dr. Bright, a clergyman of great learning and eminence. At a subsequent period, we find him at a private school at Walsall in Staffordshire: he is described by a school-fellow as being then "a weakly boy, wearing a black cap, and never so much as looking out when the other boys were at play." He seems indeed to have been a remarkably reserved and "sober-blooded" boy. At a somewhat later period Sir F. Winnington says of him, that "by the exactness of his knowledge and behaviour, he discouraged his father and all the young men that knew him. They were afraid to be in his company." In what manner his time was occupied from the period of his leaving school until he went to the university, is unknown. It has been suggested that he was employed for several years in his father's office, who designed him for his own department of the profession of the law. There is no positive evidence of this circumstance, though the conjecture is by no means improbable. It cannot, however, be doubted that, during this period, he devoted much of his time to the study of history and the civil law, and laid in a portion of that abundant store of constitutional learning which afterwards rendered him the ornament of his profession, and of the age in which he lived. About this time also he

formed several connexions, which had great influence upon his subsequent success in life. The estates of the Earl of Shrewsbury were managed by Somers's father; and as that young nobleman had no convenient residence of his own in Worcestershire, he spent much of his time at the White Ladies, and formed an intimate friendship and familiarity with young Somers. In 1672 he was also fortunate enough to be favourably noticed by Sir Francis Winnington, then a distinguished practitioner at the English bar, who was under obligations to his father for his active services in promoting his election as a Member of Parliament for the city of Worcester. Winnington is described by Burnet as a lawyer who had "risen from small beginnings, and from as small a proportion of learning in his profession, in which he was rather bold and ready, than able." It is natural to suppose that such a man, feeling his own deficiencies, would readily perceive with what advantage he might employ the talents and industry of Somers in assisting him both in Westminster Hall and in Parliament. It was probably with this intention that Winnington advised him to go to the university, and to prosecute his studies with a view to being called to the bar.

In 1674 Somers was entered as a Commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, being then about three-and-twenty years of age. The particulars of his progress through the university are not recorded; but here, as at school, his contemporaries could perceive few indications of those splendid talents which afterwards raised him to such extraordinary eminence. His college exercises, some of which are still extant, are said to have been in no respect remarkable; and he quitted the university without acquiring any academical honours beyond his Bachelor's degree. Mr. Somers was called to the bar in 1676, by the Society of the Middle Temple; but he continued his residence at the university for several years afterwards, and did not remove to London until the year after his father's death, in 1681, upon which event he succeeded to his paternal estate at Severnstoke. During his residence at Oxford he had the advantage of being intro-

duced by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir F. Winnington to many of the patriotic opponents of the arbitrary measures of the Court. At this time he published several tracts, which sufficiently displayed to the world his familiar and accurate knowledge of constitutional history. His first acknowledged work was the Report of an Election Case, and is entitled 'The Memorable Case of Denzil Onslow, Esq., tried at the Assizes in Surrey, July 20, 1681, touching his Election at Haslemere in Surrey.' His next performance was 'A brief History of the Succession, collected out of the Records and the most authentic Historians.' This work was written at the time when the proposal to bring in a bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession occupied universal attention, and excited the most intense interest. The object of Mr. Somers's tract was to exhibit the principles upon which the Parliament of England has authority to alter, restrain, and qualify the right of succession to the crown: and he places the historical arguments in support of this proposition in a forcible and convincing light. Indeed, though it might be difficult to justify such a proposition by abstract arguments upon what is called the theory of the British constitution, it has been so repeatedly acted upon in several periods of our history, that even in the time of Charles II. the practice had, as Somers justly contended, to all intents and purposes, established and sanctioned the principle. An excellent tract upon the same subject, entitled 'A just and modest Vindication of the two last Parliaments,' which appeared shortly after the breaking up of the Oxford Parliament in March, 1681, has been partly ascribed to Somers. Burnet says that this tract, which he characterizes as "the best writ paper in all that time," was at first penned by Algernon Sidney, but that a new draught was made by Somers, which was corrected by Sir William Jones. Upon occasion of the attempt of the Court party in 1681, by the illegal examination of witnesses under the direction of the king's counsel in open court, to induce a grand jury at the Old Bailey to find a true bill for high treason against the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Somers wrote his

celebrated tract entitled 'The Security of Englishmen's Lives, or the Trust, Power, and Duty of the Grand Juries of England explained.' Of this work Bishop Burnet says, "It passed as writ by Lord Essex, though I understood afterwards it was writ by Somers, who was much esteemed, and often visited by Lord Essex, and who trusted himself to him, and writ the best papers that came out at that time." In later times, this work has been universally ascribed to Somers. During his residence at Oxford, Somers was not inattentive to polite literature; he published a translation of some of Ovid's Epistles into English verse, which at the same time that it shows that he could never have borne so distinguished a rank as a poet, as he afterwards attained as a lawyer and statesman, is by no means a contemptible performance. His translations from Ovid, and a version of Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades, are the only published proofs of his classical studies at Oxford.

In the year 1682 he removed to London, and immediately commenced an assiduous attendance upon the courts of law, which at that time was considered as the highway of the legal profession. Under the powerful patronage of Sir Francis Winnington, who had been solicitor-general, and was then in the full stream of business, he rose with considerable rapidity into good practice at the bar. In 1683 he appeared as junior counsel to Winnington, in the defence to an important political prosecution instituted against Pilkington and Shute, with several other persons, for a riot at the election of sheriffs for the city of London. His employment in a case of so much public expectation may be taken as a proof that at that time his professional merits were in some degree appreciated; and in the reign of James II. his practice is said to have produced 700*l.* a-year, which at that time was a very large income for a common lawyer of five years' standing. But such was the character for research and industry which he had attained within a very few years from the commencement of his professional career, that on the trial of the Seven Bishops in 1688, he was introduced as counsel into that momentous cause at the

express and peremptory recommendation of Pollexfen, one of the greatest lawyers of that day. The rank of the defendants, the personal interest of the king in the question at issue, the general expectation excited by this conflict amongst all classes of the people, and above all, the event of the prosecution which drove James from his throne and kingdom, and immediately introduced the Revolution of 1688, render the trial of the Seven Bishops one of the most important judicial proceedings that ever occurred in Westminster Hall. It was no trifling testimony, therefore, to the high estimation in which Somers was held by experienced judges of professional merit, that he should be expressly selected by the counsel for the defendants to bear a part in the defence. We are told that upon the first suggestion of Somers's name, "objection was made amongst the Bishops to him, as too young and obscure a man; but old Pollexfen insisted upon him, and would not be himself retained without the other; representing him as the man who would take most pains and go deepest into all that depended on precedents and records."* How far the leading counsel for the Bishops were indebted to the industry and research of Somers, for the extent of learning displayed in their admirable arguments on that occasion, cannot now be ascertained; his own speech, as reported in the State Trials, contains a summary of the constitutional reasons against the existence of a dispensing power in the king, expressed in clear and unaffected language, and applied with peculiar skill and judgment to the defence of his clients.

The intimate connexion of Somers with the leaders of that political party by whom the Revolution was effected, and in particular with his early friend Lord Shrewsbury, leaves little room for doubt that he was actively employed in devising the means by which that important event was brought about. It is said by Tindal that he was admitted into the most secret councils of the Prince of Orange, and was one of those who planned the measure

* Kennet's Complete History, vol. iii. p. 513, n.

of bringing him over to England. Immediately upon the flight of James II., the Prince of Orange, by the advice of the temporary assembly which he had convened as the most proper representative of the people in the emergency of the time, issued circular letters to the several counties, cities, and boroughs of England, directing them to summon a Parliamentary Convention. On this occasion Mr. Somers was returned as a representative by his native city of Worcester. We find him taking a conspicuous part in the long and laborious debates which took place in that assembly respecting the settlement of the government. Upon a conference with the Lords upon the resolution, "that James II. having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant," Mr. Somers spoke at great length, and with much learning, in support of the original resolution against some amendments proposed by the Lords. This resolution having been ultimately adopted by both Houses of Parliament, and the Prince and Princess of Orange having been declared King and Queen of England, a committee was appointed, of which Somers was a member, to bring in heads of such things as were necessary for securing the Protestant religion, the laws of the land, and the liberties of the people. The Report of this Committee, which was a most elaborate performance, having been submitted to the examination of a second committee, of which Somers was chairman, formed the substance of the Declaration of Rights which was afterwards assented to by the King and Queen and both Houses of Parliament, and thus adopted as the basis of the Constitution. The Report was probably the production in great part of Somers himself, as is hinted by Burke, who, in his 'Reflections on the Revolution in France,' says, "I never desire to be thought a better Whig than Lord Somers, or to understand the principles of the Revolution better than those by whom it was brought about; or to read in the Declaration of Rights any mysteries unknown to those whose penetrating style has

engraved in our ordinances and in our hearts the words and spirit of that immortal law."

It is impossible to ascertain with precision the particular services rendered by Somers in the accomplishment of this great measure. There was perhaps no individual at that moment in existence who was so well qualified to lend important aid in conducting his country with safety through the difficulties and dangers of a change of government, and in placing the interests of the nation upon a secure and solid foundation. Fortunate was it for the people of England and their posterity that the services of a man of his industry and settled principles, of his sound constitutional information, and his rational and enlightened views of the relative rights and duties of kings and subjects, were at that critical juncture available to his country; and that, at the instant of the occurrence of this momentous revolution, his character was sufficiently known and appreciated to render those services fully effective.

Shortly after the accession of William and Mary, Somers was appointed Solicitor-General, and received the honour of knighthood. Bishop Burnet says, that in the warm debates which took place in Parliament on the bill respecting the recognition of the King and Queen, and the validity of the new settlement of the government, it was strongly objected by the Tories that the convention, not being summoned by the King's writ, had no legal sanction; and that Somers distinguished himself by the spirited and able manner in which he answered the objection. "He spoke," says Burnet, "with such zeal and such an ascendant of authority that none were prepared to answer it; so that the bill passed without more opposition. This was a great service done in a very critical time, and contributed not a little to raise Somers's character."

In April, 1692, Sir John Somers became Attorney-General, and in the month of March following was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. This last appointment, of course, though he was not yet raised to the peerage, removed him both from Westminster Hall

and from the House of Commons. "All the people," says Burnet, "were now grown weary of the great seal being in commission: it made the proceedings in Chancery to be both more dilatory and more expensive: and there were such exceptions made to the decrees of the commissioners, that appeals were brought against most of them, and generally they were reversed. Sir John Somers had now got great reputation, both in his post of attorney-general and in the House of Commons; so the King gave him the great seal. He was very learned in his own profession, with a great deal more learning in other professions—in divinity, philosophy, and history. He had a great capacity for business, with an extraordinary temper; for he was fair and gentle, perhaps to a fault, considering his post; so that he had all the patience and softness, as well as the justness and equity, becoming a great magistrate. He had always agreed in his notions with the Whigs, and had studied to bring them to better thoughts of the King, and to a greater confidence in him." The most remarkable occasion on which Somers distinguished himself while holding the office of lord keeper, was what is called the case of the Bankers in the Court of Exchequer, in 1696. He delivered a judgment against the bankers, and reversing the decision of the barons of the Exchequer, which has been characterised by Mr. Hargrave as "one of the most elaborate arguments ever delivered in Westminster Hall," and in collecting books and pamphlets for which he is said to have expended several hundred pounds. It is contained in the report of the case in Howell's 'State Trials,' vol. xiv., pp. 39-105. This judgment however, in which he was supported by Treby, chief justice of the court of Common Pleas, but opposed by Holt, chief justice of the King's Bench, was afterwards reversed by the Lords; and Lord Dartmouth, in a note to Burnet's 'History,' asserts that when the decree which he had made was, after a very warm debate, set aside, Somers fell ill, and never appeared upon the woolsack more. This was in 1700. In 1697, however, he had been appointed Lord Chancellor, and raised to the peerage, with the title of Baron Somers of Evesham.

In the year immediately succeeding his elevation to the peerage, it was the fate of Lord Somers to experience the virulence of party animosity, and the selfishness and instability of royal favour. His influence with the King, and the moderation and good sense with which he had restrained the impetuosity of his own party, had been long the means of preserving the Whig administration; and the Tories saw plainly that there were no hopes for the attainment of their objects so long as Lord Somers retained the confidence of the King. William had been, from the commencement of his reign, continually vacillating between the two parties according to the circumstances of his affairs; at this period he was so incensed and embarrassed by the conduct of the contending parties in the House of Commons, that he readily listened to the leaders of the Tories, who assured him that they would undertake to manage the Parliament as he pleased, if he would dismiss from his councils the Lord Chancellor Somers, whom they represented to be peculiarly odious to the Commons. In fact, the Tory party in the House of Commons had, in the course of the stormy session of Parliament which commenced in November, 1699, made several violent but ineffectual attacks upon the Lord Chancellor. The first charge brought against him was, that he had improperly dismissed many gentlemen from the commission of the peace: upon a full explanation of all the circumstances, this charge was proved to be so utterly groundless that it was abandoned by those who had introduced it. The second accusation had no better foundation than the first. Great complaints having been made of certain English pirates in the West Indies, who had plundered several merchant ships, it was determined to send out a ship of war for the purpose of destroying them. But as there was no fund to bear the charge of such an expedition, the King proposed to his ministers that it should be carried on as a private undertaking, and promised to subscribe 3000*l.* on his own account. In compliance with this recommendation, Lord Somers, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney, Oxford, Bellamont, and several

others, contributed a sufficient sum to defray the whole expense of the armament. Unfortunately one Captain Kidd was appointed to command the expedition, who was unprincipled enough to turn pirate himself, and having committed various acts of robbery on the high seas, was eventually captured, brought to England, and some time afterwards tried and executed for his offences. It was then insinuated that the Lord Chancellor and the other individuals who had subscribed towards the expedition were engaged as partners in Kidd's piratical scheme; so that an undertaking, which was not only innocent, but meritorious and patriotic, was construed by the blindness of party prejudice into a design for robbery and piracy. A resolution in the House of Commons, founded upon this absurd imputation, was rejected by a great majority. Shortly afterwards, after ordering a list of the Privy Council to be laid before the House, a question was moved in the House of Commons, "that an address should be made to his Majesty to remove John Lord Somers, Chancellor of England, from his presence and councils for ever." This motion, however, was also negatived by a large majority. The prosecution of these frivolous charges against Lord Somers was a source of perpetual irritation to the King, in consequence of the vexatious delay it occasioned to the public service, and the virulent party spirit which it introduced into the House of Commons; and it was under the influence of this feeling, and in order to deliver himself from a temporary embarrassment, that he selfishly determined to adopt the interested advice of the Tory leaders, and to remove the Lord Chancellor from his office. He accordingly intimated to Lord Somers that it was necessary for his service that he should resign the seals, but wished him to make the resignation himself, in order that it might appear as if it was his own act. The Chancellor declined to make a voluntary surrender of the seals, as such a course might indicate a fear of his enemies, or a consciousness of misconduct in his office; upon which Lord Jersey was sent with an express warrant for the

seals, and Lord Somers delivered them to him without hesitation.

The malignity of party spirit was not satisfied by the dismissal of Lord Somers from his office, and from all participation in the government. Soon after his retirement, namely, in the year 1701, the celebrated Partition Treaties gave occasion to much angry debate in both Houses of Parliament. His conduct, with respect to these treaties, seems to have been entirely irreproachable; but it became the subject of much misrepresentation, and the most unreserved invective and abuse in the House of Commons. It appears that in 1698, when the King was in Holland, a proposal was made to him by the French government for arranging the partition of some of the territories belonging to the crown of Spain upon the expected death of Charles II. This partition was to be made in certain defined proportions between the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, the Dauphin of France, and the Archduke Charles, the second son of the Emperor. The King entertained these proposals favourably, and wrote to Lord Somers, who was at that time Lord Chancellor, desiring his opinion upon them, and commanding him to forward to him a commission in blank under the great seal, appointing persons to treat with the Commissioners of the French Government. Lord Somers, after communicating with Lord Orford, the Duke of Shrewsbury, and Mr. Montague, as he had been authorised to do, transmitted to the King their joint opinions, which suggested several objections to the proposed treaty, together with the required commission. This was the "head and front of his offending" in this respect; for the treaty was afterwards negotiated abroad, and finally signed without any further communication with Lord Somers.

Understanding that he was accused in the House of Commons of having advised and promoted the Partition Treaties, Lord Somers requested to be heard in that House in his defence. His request being granted, he stated to the House, in a calm and dignified manner, the

history of his conduct respecting the treaties, and contended, with much force and eloquence, that in the whole course of that transaction he had correctly and honestly discharged his duty both as Chancellor and as a Privy Councillor. After he had withdrawn, a warm debate ensued, which terminated in a resolution carried by a small majority, "that John, Lord Somers, by advising his Majesty to conclude the Treaty of Partition, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour." Similar resolutions were passed against the Earl of Orford and Lord Halifax, and all of them were impeached at the bar of the House of Lords. The articles of impeachment against Lord Somers principally charged him with having affixed the great seal to the blank commission sent to the King in Holland, and afterwards to the treaties; with having encouraged and promoted the piracies of Captain Kidd, and with having received grants from the Crown for his own personal emolument. To each of these articles Lord Somers answered promptly and fully; to the two first he replied the facts of each case as above related; and in answer to the third, he admitted that the king had been pleased to make certain grants to him, but denied that they had been made in consequence of any solicitation on his part. After many frivolous delays and repeated disputes between the two Houses, a day was fixed for the trial of the impeachment; on which day the Commons not appearing to prosecute their articles, the Lords, by a considerable majority, acquitted Lord Somers of the charges and dismissed the impeachment.

The violence and folly exhibited in the conduct of these proceedings opened the eyes of the King to his error in having changed his ministry at so critical a time. He found to his infinite disquietude that, instead of enabling him to manage the Commons as they had promised, the Tory leaders had rendered them more intractable and imperious than before; and that, instead of sincerely endeavouring to promote peace abroad and quiet government at home, they were actuated entirely by motives of private passion and revenge. In this state of affairs he again directed his attention to Lord Somers,

in consequence, probably, of the urgent advice of Lord Sunderland, and wrote him a note from Loo, dated the 10th of October, 1701, assuring him of the continuance of his friendship. By the united exertions of Somers and Sunderland a negotiation was entered into with a view to the formation of a Whig ministry ; but after some little progress had been made, the death of the King, in March, 1702, put an end to the project, and the succession of Queen Anne confirmed the establishment of the Tory administration.

The state of parties for some years after the accession of Queen Anne excluded Somers from taking any active part in political affairs. It is probable that at this period of his life he devoted his attention to literature and science, as in 1702 he was elected President of the Royal Society. He afterwards applied himself with diligence to the removal of several gross defects in the practice of the Courts of Chancery and Common Law. In 1706 he introduced into the House of Lords an extensive and effectual bill for the correction of such abuses. In passing through the House of Commons "it was found," says Burnet, "that the interest of under-officers, clerks, and attorneys, whose gains were to be lessened by this bill, was more considered than the interest of the nation itself. Several clauses, how beneficial soever to the subject, which touched on their profit, were left out by the Commons." Still the "Act for the Amendment of the Law and the better advancement of Justice," as it now stands amongst the statutes of the realm, effected a very important improvement in the administration of justice.

Lord Somers is said to have had a chief hand in projecting the scheme of the Union with Scotland ; and in discussing and arranging the details of this great measure in the House of Lords, he appears to have been one of the most frequent and distinguished speakers, though he was then labouring under great bodily infirmity.

In the year 1708, on occasion of the temporary return of the Whigs to power, Lord Somers again formed part of the administration and filled the office of President of the Council. But the powers of his mind were at this

time much enfeebled by continual ill-health ; and it was probably with feelings of satisfaction that the change of parties in 1710, by causing his dismissal from office, enabled him finally to retire into private life.

Of the mode in which the remaining period of his life was spent after his removal from public business, little is known. There is, however, no doubt that the concluding years of his existence were darkened by much sickness and some degree of mental alienation. On the accession of George I. he formally took his seat at the Council-Board ; but a paralytic affection, which had destroyed his bodily health, had so impaired the faculties of his mind as to incapacitate him entirely for business. At intervals, however, when the pressure of disease was suspended, he appears to have recurred with strong interest to passing events in which the welfare of his country was involved. When the Septennial Bill was in progress, Lord Townshend called upon him : Lord Somers embraced him, congratulated him on the progress of the bill, and declared that " he thought it would be the greatest support possible to the liberty of the country." On a subsequent occasion, when informed by the same nobleman of the determination of George I. to adopt the advice of his ministry, by executing the full rigour of the law against Lord Derwentwater, and the other unfortunate persons concerned in the rebellion of 1715, he is said to have asked with great emotion, and shedding many tears, " whether they meant to revive the proscriptions of Marius and Sylla ?"

He soon afterwards sunk into a state of total imbecility, from which, on the 26th of April, 1716, he was happily released by death.

Lord Somers was never married, though it is stated by the author of the *Memoirs of his Life*, that when he was solicitor-general he paid his addresses to a daughter of Sir John Bawdon, a London alderman, and that he went so far in the matter as to deliver in a rental of his estate, after several meetings with the lady's friends ; " but," concludes the story, " the treaty broke off on account of a difference about the marriage-portion and

settlement, to the great regret of the lady, when she found him made lord-keeper of the great seal in two years' time." His estates descended to the family of his sister, who was married to Charles Cocks, Esq., M.P., whose grandson, the ancestor of the present Earl Somers, was created Baron Somers in 1784.

The character of Lord Somers has been elaborately drawn by Addison in one of the numbers of the 'Freeholder' (published 14th May, 1714), but with considerable wordiness, and something perhaps of the air of insincerity which commonly attaches to a formal panegyric. He had been an early and zealous patron of Addison, who had obtained his notice by inscribing to him his early poem on the campaigns of King William, and who afterwards dedicated to him his 'Travels in Italy,' and the first volume of the 'Spectator.' There is much more force in the more shaded picture of him which Swift has given in his 'History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne;' nor perhaps, taken with the proper allowance, does it convey a less correct notion of the man.

The collection commonly called the 'Somers Tracts,' which has been twice printed, first in 1748, in 16 volumes, 4to., secondly, in 1809-15, in 13 volumes, 4to., under the superintendence of the late Sir Walter Scott, consists of scarce pamphlets selected, as the title intimates, principally from the library of Lord Somers. A valuable collection of original letters and other papers left by his lordship was unfortunately consumed in a fire which happened in the chambers of the Honourable Charles Yorke, then solicitor-general, in Lincoln's Inn Square, on the morning of Saturday, the 29th of January, 1752. Mr. Yorke's father, the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, married Lord Somers's niece, Miss Margaret Cocks.





1688.



THAT the son of a blacksmith in an obscure English village should almost by his single unassisted efforts have created for himself a name among the highest in the history of European philosophy ; and that by the variety and excellence of his writings upon the fluctuating sciences of Natural History he should have acquired a reputation so fresh, after the lapse of a century and a half, that at this very day he should be designated as the man "who saw the finger of God in the whole framework of Animated Nature," are circumstances which it is a peculiarly instructive and pleasing task for the biographer to illustrate. It is not however of scenes of stirring interest, which arrest our attention by an irresistible appeal to our passions or our feelings, that the life of such a man consists ; on the contrary, the very success that attended his pursuits implies a tranquil tenour of existence, of which little can be told beyond the effect produced by his powerful mind upon his con-

temporaries and posterity: his writings, not his acts, are the really important events of his career, and almost everything which the historian finds to tell.

John Ray, or, as he originally wrote it, Wray, was born on the 29th of November, 1627 (O.S.), at the village of Black Notley in the county of Essex. His father followed the humble occupation of blacksmith, and it is said that his smithy is still remaining by the side of a lane leading to the village church. But as some acres of land have descended with it to the present proprietor, and as the circumstance of his having been able to afford his son a College education and subsequently to leave his widow in competency, seem to indicate the possession of means greater than a mere blacksmith can be supposed to have acquired, it is not improbable that Mr. Ray was a substantial yeoman who combined the occupation of a smith with that of a small farmer, as is sometimes done to this day in the midland counties of England.

Of Ray's early history nothing is recorded except that he was educated at the charity-school of Braintree, a town about two miles from his birthplace; that he had an indifferent preceptor, whom he soon outstripped in learning; and that he loved reading, and wandering in the fields, better than the youthful pastime of his school-fellows. He appears moreover to have possessed that greatest of all blessings to a child, a kind, sensible, and right-hearted mother, who took care to instil into his youthful mind those high principles of honour which proved a sure guide to him in after life, and in vindication of which he sacrificed his temporal interests, while he secured imperishable fame.

Unaided at school by judicious instruction, unsustained by the sympathy of congenial spirits, for we can scarcely suppose his parents to have been able to appreciate talents such as his, and struggling with all those disadvantages to which a lad without books and with an ignorant master is exposed in a country school, he nevertheless evinced such proficiency in his studies as to excite the attention of those who, seeing in him the germ of future

eminence, advised his father to yield to the manifest bias of his son's inclinations, and to enable him to win his way in the world by means more congenial to his disposition than the forge and anvil.

Accordingly we find him at the age of sixteen entered as a Sizar of Catherine Hall, Cambridge (June 28th, 1644). At this time useful and solid learning had only just begun to displace the idle disputations of the schools, which had hitherto formed the occupation of the Cambridge students. At the most, to use his own words, "they contented themselves with a knowledge of the Tongues, a little skill in Philology, or History perhaps, and Antiquity, to the neglect of that which seems more material, I mean Natural History and the works of the Creation;" making little account of "real Experimental Philosophy, and those ingenious sciences of the Mathematics." Ray, whose life had been passed among the wild scenes of nature, was soon dissatisfied with the endless arguments about nothing in which his fellow-collegians were employed, and in which truth was a secondary object only, the first consideration being scholastic triumph.

The noble discoveries of the weight and elastic force of air, and of the restless circulation of the blood, the invention of telescopes and microscopes, and several other things, which were at this time novelties in philosophy, seemed calculated to reveal the most hidden secrets of nature and to recast the whole framework of Natural History; and Ray burned to exchange the metaphysical subtleties of Catherine Hall, for a position in which such subjects formed a part of the College learning. After nearly two years' penance he found the means of accomplishing his desire by removing to Trinity College, where science had already fixed her throne, secure within those sacred walls from the assaults of the intellectual bigots of those days, who then, as now, viewed all advances in human knowledge with alarm; and who would fain have compelled posterity to feed upon the same intellectual trash with which they had themselves been nourished, "fearful lest the world

should discover they had passed their own lives in following the mere shadow of philosophy ; and that in the place of Juno they had embraced a cloud."

Once established among young men of congenial pursuits, the talents of Ray unfolded themselves with a rapidity which even his college companions viewed with admiration. The mind, which had been cramped and stifled by the unnatural position in which it had been so long confined, at once expanded, like a beauteous flower which cold and nipping winds have long restrained within its calyx, till a few days' warmth and gentle moisture renovate its energies, and cause it to burst forth into all its natural perfection.

His tutor was Dr. Duport, a distinguished Greek scholar, afterwards Dean of Peterborough, and his most intimate friend was the good and simple minded Isaac Barrow, who had entered Trinity shortly before himself, and who was elected Junior Fellow along with Ray, on the 8th of September, 1649. With such a master for his learning, such a companion for his pleasures, and such talents for his resource, it is no wonder that Ray should have gained further steps in his college rank more quickly than happens to many men ; nor that a Senior Fellowship, and the offices of Greek Lecturer, Mathematical Lecturer, Humanity Reader, and others, should have successively rewarded his industry in the course of the next ten years.

During this period he was mentally preparing the materials of those important works on which his reputation was to be based, and performing with assiduity the various duties to which his college life compelled him. As a tutor he gained the friendship of several young men of rank, especially of Mr. Francis Willughby, with whom his fame and fortune eventually became almost identified. As a preacher he acquired much reputation for the excellence of his discourses ; in which he showed that the true way to enchain the attention and interest the feelings of men of sense, is by appealing to their reason rather than to their passions or their zeal. At this time the practices of the Puritans had entered

the Universities more than their doctrines ; and accordingly the sermons of the day were too often unmeaning rhapsodies or enthusiastical harangues, rather than sincere discourses upon the evidences and doctrines of true religion. Never to fancies of this kind did Mr. Ray give way ; if his good sense had not been sufficient to convince him of the errors of the popular style, his conscience, that constant monitor which never for one moment deserted him, would have told him that he but ill performs his duty to his fellow-man who allows his judgment of what is for their eternal welfare to be swayed by a consideration of what may be agreeable to their inclinations. His celebrated work, 'On the Wisdom of God displayed in the Works of the Creation,' which was not published till towards the close of his life, is said to have been founded upon the sermons which he was at this time in the habit of delivering ; and, if so, we may well imagine the truth of Archbishop Tenison's account of Ray's reputation at Cambridge for preaching solid and useful divinity. That such sermons should have been little acceptable to those fanatics who considered all religion to consist in a firm adhesion to controversial points, mistaking the shadow of godliness for the substance, and making up for the weakness of their arguments by the vehemence of their gesticulation, may be easily believed. But it was impossible that the merits of Mr. Ray should be overlooked by the young and rising spirits in the University, who, finding more diversion than instruction in the declamations of the ordinary class of preachers, must have turned with delight to the discourses of Mr. Ray, in which the religion of nature and the universal evidence of the power and goodness of God were made the foundation of every theological discussion. The reasons he himself assigns for making choice of such a line of argument deserve to be quoted as a specimen not only of his style, but also of the plain good sense which formed the peculiar feature of all his writings :—

“ The belief of a Deity being the foundation of all religion (religion being nothing but a devout worshipping of God, or an inclination of mind to serve and wor-

ship Him), for he that cometh to God must believe that he is God, it is a matter of the highest concernment to be firmly settled and established in a full persuasion of this main point. Now this must be demonstrated by arguments drawn from the Light of Nature, the Works of the Creation : For as all other sciences, so divinity proves not, but supposes its subjects, taking it for granted, that by natural light men are sufficiently convinced of the being of a Deity. There are indeed supernatural demonstrations of this fundamental truth, but not common to all persons or times, and so liable to cavil and exception by atheistical persons, as inward illuminations of mind, a spirit of prophecy and foretelling future contingents, illustrious miracles, and the like. But these proofs, taken from effects and operations, exposed to every man's view, not to be denied or questioned by any, are most effectual to convince all that deny or doubt of it. Neither are they only convictive of the greatest and subtlest adversaries, but intelligible also to the meanest capacities. For you may hear illiteral persons of the lowest rank of the commonalty affirming, that they need no proof of the being of a God, for that every pile of grass, or ear of corn, sufficiently proves that ; for, say they, all the men of the world cannot make such a thing as one of these ; and if they cannot do it, who can, or did make it but God ? To tell them that it made itself, or sprung up by chance, would be as ridiculous as to tell the greatest philosopher so."

The incessant application to which Mr. Ray had given himself in the fulfilment of his college duties, joined to a delicate constitution, had already so impaired his health, that we find him, at an early age, directed by his physician to take frequent exercise abroad. How this finally led to the direction which his pursuits afterwards irrecoverably assumed, we are told by himself in his beautiful Latin, to which we have in vain attempted to do justice in a translation. " When from my indifferent state of health it became necessary, for the sake of both my mind and body, that I should relax from severer studies, and take exercise in walking or riding, it was scarcely pos-

sible for me not to cast an occasional regard upon the varieties and elegancies of the vegetable kingdom—those curious labyrinthian works of Nature which were continually before my eyes, and which I had so often trampled beneath my careless feet. These once attentively inspected, it was no longer in my power to pass them by with indifference and disregard. For first the sweet spectacle of the fields in spring invited and detained me by the charm of their splendid apparel; and afterwards I was delighted by the singular forms of their plants, whose colours and external appearance are all so gay and admirably comely. Thus frequently feasting my eyes and delighting my mind with such things, the study of botany gradually grew upon me; and I was seized with a vehement desire and ardour to acquire some proficiency therein; for I was persuaded it would afford me much solitary, tranquil, and harmless pleasure." Natural history at that time (1550-60) was, however, in a lamentable condition. Arranged without system, and often by men but imperfectly acquainted even with the knowledge of their day, botanical works were a mere farrago of bad descriptions, the plants belonging to which could scarcely be identified without the aid of the rude wood-blocks by which the descriptions were accompanied. For example, Gerarde's 'History of English Plants,' which at that time was a standard book, was, as Ray himself tells us, the production of a man almost entirely ignorant of the learned languages in which, nevertheless, all books on science were at that time written. The principal part of the work was pirated from the Pemptades of Dodoens, turned into English by one Priest; and in order to conceal the plunder, the arrangement of Dodoens was exchanged for that of Lohel; while the whole was made up with the wood-blocks of Tabernæmontanus's *Kreuterbuch*, often unskilfully transposed and confounded. In this state of things there was no hope of a student making any progress in botany by himself; a master who could instruct him in all the existing knowledge of the subject, and so enable him to interpret the meaning of such books, was quite indispensable. It was not, how-

ever, to be expected that a science (?) like that we have described should find much favour in the eyes of Cambridge scholars. It was, therefore, in vain that Mr. Ray sought among his college friends for some one to guide him in his new pursuit. "Wonderful to tell!" he exclaims, "not a man could I find among so many *magnates* of the learned world, among so many luminaries of letters, who could open the way for me, or who could spare me one little ray from his lamp; not a soul who had ever studied botany profoundly, nor indeed above one or two who had ever raised the cup to their lips. What was I to do in such a conjuncture? Was I to allow this my ardour to burn out, or to be directed to something else? Surely not. I was only ashamed and vexed, when I reflected that this most important part of natural philosophy, so useful and indeed so necessary to every-day life, should alone lie wasted and neglected when all other branches of science and polite literature were so flourishing and cultivated."

At length, when, with infinite toil, he had surmounted the difficulties that beset him, and had learned to read the Botanical Cabala of the day, his kind and social disposition irresistibly impelled him to communicate the enjoyment his new pursuit afforded him to those intimate friends and companions whose happiness was to him as much a source of pleasure as his own. This produced our earliest English Flora, and his first botanical essay, in the form of an alphabetical catalogue of the plants growing wild about Cambridge; in which he appears to have had no other object than to furnish his friends with a sort of hand-book, by which they might remember the plants they had gathered and admired in his society, and which might answer some temporary purpose until he could, "by Divine permission," prepare a general systematic arrangement of all known plants.

Shortly after the appearance of his Catalogue, on the 23rd of December, 1660, he was ordained both deacon and priest on the same day, according to Sir James Smith; but as this would have been contrary to the 32nd canon, which requires "that none be made deacon and

minister on the same day," it is probable that the words *Diaconi et Presbyteri ordinati*, which commence the registry of that day's ordination, only mean that the deacons and priests ordained on that day are such as appear in the subjoined list, and not that all therein named were then ordained both deacons and priests.

After his ordination he continued his college duties as before, constantly adding to his knowledge of natural history, collecting during journeys through various parts of England the materials for his 'Systematical Synopsis of British Plants,' which afterwards appeared in 1690; and endeavouring to establish among his acquaintance an admiration of the works of the Creator, in preference to curious instruments of human invention which can have no comparison with the admirable mechanism and exquisite fashioning of the animal and vegetable world. "There are those," he says, "who, ignorant and uninformed in such matters, condemn and despise such pursuits as mine. When you show these men a rare plant, the first question they ask is, what is it good for? And if peradventure you inform them that you do not know, for that its use is still to be discovered, they straightway exclaim, what idle curiosity is this! How can it profit you to squander thus your irretrievable time about things which are of no utility in life, to the neglect of so many more necessary concerns? As if the allwise Maker of all things could have created anything rashly or to no end, and as if it did not behove us the more diligently to investigate that of which we happen to be ignorant.--Or as if those things which he has thought worthy of being created, we should think unworthy of even a passing regard. For my part, I am persuaded that whatever the earth produces from his bountiful lap, is born, if not for the food or medicine of man, most certainly for those of brute animals. And do not the latter nourish us with their flesh and their milk? and keep us warm with their hides, hair, or wool, and assist us by their toil, and give us pleasure as objects of the chase, to say nothing of the innumerable medicaments that are supplied by the animal kingdom?" Thus in tranquillity, and amidst such

peaceful occupations, nearly two years of his life passed away.

We have now reached a period in the history of Mr. Ray at which those high principles of honour and integrity, of which indeed his whole life was but a continual illustration, were to be put to their severest trial. He had succeeded in justifying the good opinion of those friends who had saved him from the drudgery of his father's trade; by his talents and unwearied industry he had gained an independence which was the more sweet, and which should have been the more secure, as having been the result of neither patronage nor accident, but won from his competitors in a fair and open field; he had raised himself to a high and honourable station in his college; and he, the blacksmith's son, had become at once the director and the friend of several of the rising aristocracy of his country. But beyond his college preferment, and the income this apparently secured to him, he possessed nothing. At once, and without warning, by the blackest act of the most profligate court and king by which England has had the misfortune to be oppressed, Mr. Ray was called upon either to prostitute his fair fame at the mandate of the court, in return for which he was to have secure possession of that which he had gained, and fair prospects of advancement; or to relinquish the fruits of eighteen years of labour and exertion, to see his little competency torn from him by a government as devoid of mercy as of virtue, and to be thrown back into that station from which he had so honourably raised himself—now more unfitted than ever by constitution as well as education for pursuits, to return to which it was probable he might be driven by sheer necessity.

When the English people, goaded to desperation by the tyranny of a king whose reputed private virtues were but a wretched atonement for his political offences, and disgusted with a hierarchy which they found another name for bigotry, intolerance, and despotism, were forced to assert their rights by the sword, they swore to a solemn league and covenant for the reform of religion by the extirpation of prelacy and episcopacy. They be-

lieved in their consciences, as many good men still believe, that such a measure was necessary to restore the purity of the church, and to render it, what it was intended for, a powerful moral instrument. To this, however, Mr. Ray had never been a party. At the Restoration King Charles, among other iniquitous proceedings, procured to be passed an act of parliament usually known by the name of the Bartholomew Act, by which all clergymen were enjoined, upon pain of deprivation of all offices and emoluments whatsoever, to declare, among other things, that the oath taken by those who had joined the league was not only unlawful, but not binding upon their consciences, and might be broken.

Mr. Ray was not the man to hesitate as to the course he should adopt; his was not the supple honesty that could shift, and turn, and bend, and accommodate itself to the wishes of a corrupt government and a reckless hierarchy. Neither would he lend his good name and honourable character to delude the ignorant and encourage the weak or unprincipled, by declaring upon the faith of an honest man and a Christian clergyman that there is no sanctity in an oath. Upon being called upon to acquiesce in this infamous doctrine, Mr. Ray was too high-minded to answer otherwise than honestly and truly "that he had never taken the league and covenant, and that he even disapproved of it as an unlawful act: but that he could not declare for those who had taken the oath that no obligation lay upon them; but feared there might." For this straightforward answer, in which nothing can be blamed except its mildness, Mr. Ray, to his glory, was deprived of his college preferment, stripped of the independence his industry had procured for him, and driven back into the world as poor as he had quitted it, with thirteen other honourable men; for only fourteen such honest men were to be found in Cambridge in those days. This remarkable event happened on the 18th September, 1662.

In this conjuncture, when he might well exclaim that all was lost except his honour, the world did not forsake him with the court. That he was ready to endure the

extremity of poverty for conscience sake no man can doubt; but he was not called upon to make the trial.

His rectitude and highmindedness had secured him the esteem, as his learning had obtained him the respect, of those who had benefited by his instruction as college tutor; and Mr. Willughby, his true and steady friend, immediately offered him his house as a home. Under that hospitable roof he soon consoled himself for his blighted prospects by the uninterrupted leisure he enjoyed for following his favourite pursuits, to which, indeed, Mr. Willughby was attached with as much enthusiasm as Ray himself.

After publishing an appendix to his catalogue of Cambridge plants, with some corrections and additions, it was arranged that Mr. Willughby and Ray, accompanied by some other gentlemen, should visit the continent, chiefly for the purpose of examining the plants and animals which were unknown in England. Accordingly, seven months after his expulsion from Cambridge, Mr. Ray and his companions visited France, and after passing through Flanders, Germany, Switzerland, the states of Venice, Sicily, and Malta, they returned by way of Florence to Montpellier; when Mr. Willughby quitted them for Spain, while Mr. Ray, after passing a winter in the south of France, proceeded through Lyons to Paris, and finally reached England in March, 1666.

During this tour he profited abundantly by the opportunity it afforded him of increasing his acquaintance with natural history; and at the very door, as it were, of Gesner and the Bauhins, he discovered plants which had been overlooked by those veterans in botany. The numerous remains of molluscous animals in a fossil state, with which his Italian journey supplied him, led him to reflect upon their origin, and to decide against the silly notions of his day that such remains had been created by a *plastic force* of nature, impeded and counteracted by the unsuitable situations, in the midst of rocks, in which it was exerted. To suppose that an inanimate body like the earth has a power to create forms equal to others which we see in living beings, is to approach within one

single step of dispensing with the necessity of an intelligent Creator, and could not fail to shock the philosophical and pious feelings of a man like Ray.

Shortly after his return (November 7, 1667), he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, which at that time was a considerable distinction; the value of which had not been reduced to below zero by promiscuous elections. About the same time he suffered himself to be persuaded to arrange the vegetable kingdom according to the notions of his "ever honoured" friend the good and liberal-minded Bishop Wilkins, whose scheme of an universal character required that trees and herbs should be each divided into three principal groups or "companies," neither more nor less; "that each company should be divided into nine parts called subaltern genera, so that in each of these the subordinate plants should not exceed a certain number; and finally that the plants should be joined two and two, or arranged in pairs." With only three weeks in which to execute this fantastic task, and sensible as Mr. Ray was of the impracticability of this scheme, yet he says that he could not do otherwise than endeavour to oblige so true a friend and so good a man. A trichotomous system was therefore produced, which, if it was not remarkable for its excellence, was, fortunately for posterity and Ray's fame, the immediate cause of his concentrating all the powers of his vigorous and comprehensive mind on the discovery of the principles of the natural system, upon which his botanical reputation was eventually founded.

It appears that Morison, afterwards Professor of Botany at Oxford, a hotheaded Aberdeen cavalier, and a pompous waspish man, who was more greedy of his own reputation than solicitous for the advancement of science, took especial offence at Ray's unlucky contribution to Bishop Wilkins. Whether from dislike to Ray's honest uncompromising principles, which could not be otherwise than distasteful to the hangers-on of Charles II., or from a wish to ingratiate himself with the court, for he bore the sounding titles of King's Physician and Royal Professor of Botany, or from mere jealousy of a rival in his

own department, or from whatever other motive, Morison anonymously attacked Ray's tables with much acrimony and unfairness, boasting of his own superior attainments, and that nature, not books, had been his guide in the system of which he had already published some specimens. Piqued at this uncalled-for attack from a man in every way so much his inferior in mental endowments, Mr. Ray determined, as he tells us, to see what he could do if unfettered by a plan, and with nature only for his guide. The consequence was the publication of his first scheme of Natural Arrangement in 1682.

But before this could be accomplished, his patron, Mr. Willughby, was unfortunately carried off by death on the 3rd of July, 1672, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. This distressing event put a sudden stop to Mr. Ray's occupations. By the will of Mr. Willughby he was left one of his five executors, and tutor to his two infant children; he was moreover charged with the publication of the Zoological Papers, upon which the two friends had long been jointly occupied, and he also found himself in possession of 60*l.* a-year for life. Dismissing from his mind for a time all thoughts of the pursuits which had previously engaged him, Mr. Ray's earliest care was to execute conscientiously the duties which his deceased friend had confided to him. The children and their education was his first consideration; he wrote his *Nomenclator Classicus* expressly for their improvement, submitted patiently to the irksome task of teaching them the most elementary parts of knowledge, and gave up his whole mind to the faithful discharge of his trust. But in the same year Bishop Wilkins also died; and thus in the space of a few short months he found himself separated from his oldest and dearest friends, and literally alone in the world.

We now find him, for the next three or four years, during the first of which he married, diligently employed in the instruction of his little pupils, in the publication of his foreign travels, in experiments upon vegetable physiology, and especially in preparing for the press

Mr. Willughby's ornithological papers, which appeared in Latin in 1675, under the name of *Ornithologiae Libri III.* In this work the beak and the foot of birds are for the first time employed as the basis of a systematic arrangement; the classification thus established, imperfect as it was, had the merit of combining habits and structure, and of showing that land and water birds, and herbivorous and predaceous species, might be distinguished from each other by the conformation of the organs which had been specially modified in connexion with their modes of life.

Upon the death of Mr. Willughby's mother her two grandsons were removed from his care, and he himself quitted Middleton Hall. For a while he continued in the neighbourhood for the sake of access to Mr. Willughby's papers, which remained in possession of his widow, but finally, in 1679, he removed to his native village, where he had caused a cottage to be built, in order that he might spend the latter days of his life in the contemplation of scenes that were endeared to him by the recollections of his childhood. Before this occurred he had completed a translation of the Ornithology into English, and had published an improved edition of his Catalogue, with many additions, especially in what relates to the useful properties of plants. In three years more, the first sketch of his Natural System of Botany made its appearance, and shortly after he sent to press the Ichthyology of Mr. Willughby, which however was not published till 1686.

This work, which was the most complete of Mr. Ray's zoological publications, and which seems to have been Mr. Willughby's favourite study, is acknowledged by Cuvier in the following terms of praise:—

“It is to Ray and Willughby that the honour was reserved of first producing an ichthyology in which the objects were described clearly and from nature herself; in which the species were distributed according to characters derived exclusively from structure; and, finally, in which their history was disembarrassed of all those passages from ancient naturalists which it had been the prac-

tice of the authors of the sixteenth century to refer to different species in the most arbitrary manner, and of which, in point of fact, so many were either untrue or unintelligible.—This work forms an era, and a happy one, in the history of ichthyology. For ever after subjected to the forms of system, this science was enabled to make a steady advance; and new species were no longer confounded with old ones, but were referred with certainty to a definite place in the arrangement; above all things the work was a tolerably perfect model of descriptive Natural History."

In 1686 and 1687 appeared, in two volumes folio, Ray's great work, the *Historia Plantarum*, at which he had long been labouring, towards the completion of which his mind had been steadily directed ever since himself and his friends had experienced the want of such a guide, and to which he had been urged the more in consequence of its having become evident that the *Historia Plantarum* of Morison, of which one volume had been published at Oxford, was a work far beyond the strength of its author, who besides was so involved in his circumstances that it was unlikely it would ever be completed.

One of the reasons assigned by Ray himself for having ventured upon the publication is too characteristic of the man not to deserve being repeated. "I have been mainly led to it," he says, "for the illustration of the glory of God—since the inconceivable variety of plants, together with their surpassing beauty, their wonderful order, and their immense importance, are among the most striking of all evidences and arguments as to the infinite power, wisdom, and goodness of the Supreme Artificer."

This extraordinary production, by far the most important systematic work which had then appeared, at once became the text of botanists in England till the time of Linnæus, who, upon his visit to this country in 1736, found the English professors warmly attached to it. Well had it been for us had it never been abandoned, for now, after nearly another century has elapsed,

we have done little more than come back again to the principles which Ray first promulgated.

Two thousand years had elapsed since the time of Theophrastus, and nothing which deserved the name of a philosophical view of the vegetable kingdom had again been written. Great advances had been made in the knowledge of species, and the recent invention of the microscope had led to the discovery of the secret springs by which the life of plants is regulated; but there had been no mind sufficiently comprehensive, nor indeed sufficiently in advance of the age, to render the knowledge thus industriously collected available for the great purposes of science. For grand general views, there was little better than petty details, mixed up with an inconceivable mass of inaccuracies, puerilities, and fables. The laborious industry of the Bauhins had indeed collected into a narrow compass what they found dispersed through the Histories, Theatres, Pandects, Notes, Observations, Illustrations, and Commentaries, of their predecessors; but no higher station can be assigned them than that of patient and diligent compilers; not that we would undervalue the labours of the Bauhins; on the contrary, it is not improbable that if they had not collected the rough materials of arrangement, Ray would never have wrought them into the system he left behind; but it cannot be disputed that their systematic views were neither original, sound, nor philosophical.

The most remarkable features in the *Historia Plantarum* are the methodical and logical manner in which all parts of the matter are arranged—the accuracy of the author's knowledge of vegetable physiology, his own peculiar system, and above all his views of systems in general.

He was the first who applied to botany the plan of analyzing genera and species, or ideas of any kind, in a tabular form, by a continual dichotomous succession of abstractions. Having felt most severely in his early studies how serious an impediment to those who have to labour unassisted was the crude matter which the botanists of his time placed before their readers, and being

sensible that there can be no logical precision either in natural history or any other branch of science, unless it is capable of being reduced to such an analysis, he seems to have made it a point, on all occasions, to introduce his dichotomous tables, both to test the soundness of his own principles, and to instruct in the most familiar manner those who were to study him.

The importance of this will not fail to be appreciated by those who have had to labour through the elements of any branch of natural history with books alone for their instruction; and now that natural history is becoming a more common branch of a liberal education, we are actually, after neglecting it for a century and a-half, at this moment falling back upon his method; often, we suspect, without being aware that it is to Ray that we are indebted for the example.

If there is nothing very original in Ray's notions about the vital actions of plants, the admirable works of Grew and Malpighi having appeared at the very time when he himself was engaged in pursuits of the same nature, he at least knew how to avail himself most skillfully of the observations of those authors, and he appears to have in some cases repeated their experiments, or, in others, to have either preceded or surpassed them in the investigation of the subject. He states most truly that the sap rises through the whole body of such trees as birch, willow, and the like, contrary to the less accurate statement of more recent writers, who would confine its upward current to the alburnum alone. He notices the error of considering a bulb a root, and properly refers it to an underground bud. He asserted that light was the true cause of the green colour in plants, and not air alone. He rejected the popular opinions about the transmutation of species, such as of wheat into maize or even ray-grass, and of turnips into radishes; and yet he was puzzled at finding that one kind of cabbage would produce another, and that cauliflowers would turn to coleworts, for he did not know that all these were mere varieties of one original species. His statements regarding the operation of grafting are remarkably just;—he

properly points out the identity between a bud and a scion, the former "not differing from the latter otherwise than as a child from an adult;" and he expressly declares that the operation cannot be performed except between species nearly related to each other. Moreover, he showed the fallacy of those experiments upon growing plants in water, upon which was founded the theory that pure water only is their food; for he asserted that water in the state in which it had been used was unquestionably impregnated with numerous saline and heterogeneous particles, and by no means a simple element. Finally, he adopted Grew's opinion that the pollen contains the male fluid of plants; and he distinctly points out the unisexual nature of dioecious plants. Some of these points have been referred to the discoveries of more modern botanists, some have even been the subject of experiment in very recent days; but all of them are to be found in the *Historia Plantarum* of Ray.

As for his botanical system, let it but be compared with those of Cæsalpinus and Morison, which were the only attempts at systematic arrangement worth mentioning which preceded him. That of the former was ingenious, and as some think profound, and for the first outline of a systematic arrangement sufficiently praiseworthy, but it was never adopted. The method of the latter was shallow and empirical, and had not a single feature worth recording except what was copied from preceding botanists. Ray, on the contrary, discovered with surprising sagacity, considering the scantiness of his materials, the fundamental principles of a natural arrangement, and laid the foundation of a system, which, passing down to posterity through Jussieu and the French school, has, with the alterations and improvements suggested by modern discovery, finally triumphed, after various turns of fortune, over all that have been set up in opposition to it.

Ray was no martinet in science, who would throw Nature bound and gagged into the arena of philosophy, to be dissected beneath a microscope, and who would have her turned, and pinched, and thwarted at every step

for the sake of his own awkward contrivances. On the contrary, he knew her to be a goddess whose very essence is freedom, variety, and change, to be restrained within no limits but those which the Creator has assigned her, and ready to slip between our definitions with a facility which sets mathematical precision at defiance. He well knew that living matter was not to be dealt with like rocks and stones, and that it was hopeless to look for that exactness in an arrangement of things endowed with life, which might be expected in the inorganic world. That to the soundest philosophical views he joined an unusual portion of good sense, in treating of such matters, will be abundantly manifest from the following extract from the Preface to his *Historia Plantarum*.

“The system by which species are arranged according to their conformity in the structure of their most essential parts, such as the flower and its calyx, the seed and the seed-vessel, is surely the most natural and philosophical, as well as the most commodious for learning botany; it is therefore what I employ. For by the assistance of such a method any student, however destitute he may be of the aid of others, and however much he may be left to his own resources, will have no difficulty in acquiring a knowledge of plants. Suppose he has procured a species before unknown to him; by comparing it with the characters of the natural order (*summa genera*), with which he should make himself familiar, he will easily perceive to which it belongs; thence, by following the order of my tables, he will with equal ease, and as if by the thread of Ariadne, be conducted through the genera (*genera subalterna*) to the species; and then by comparing his plant with their descriptions, he will either discover it if described, or determine it to be a new one.

“But let me here repeat in still stronger terms what I have elsewhere insisted upon, that no one is to expect a method which shall be perfect and complete in all its parts, and which shall distribute plants into their natural order with such exactness that every species shall be comprehended in them without excluding a single anomalous or peculiar form; nor that every natural order

shall be so circumscribed by its own peculiar and characteristic marks that no species can remain without a settlement, if I may so say, and referable to more orders than one. From the very nature of things such perfection is unattainable. For since nature never makes a leap, nor passes from one extreme to another, otherwise than through some intermediate state, she always produces between things of the highest and the lowest degree certain others of an intermediate and ambiguous condition, participating in the characters of both, and so connecting those that it is uncertain whether they belong to the one or to the other. Moreover the same kind parent of all things will not submit to be confined within the narrow bounds of any system ; but, as if to manifest her freedom and disregard of all human laws, creating in every order of things some singular and anomalous species as exceptions to general rules." How completely is all this confirmed by the experience, inquiry, and discussion which have employed the world since it was written !

The system which he framed upon these principles is a lasting monument of his wisdom, acuteness, and foresight. What if he included corals among plants ? He esteemed them to be of the lowest degree, as the most inferior of his lowest grade of vegetation, which he called *Imperfect*. With these he joined fungi and mosses ; and consequently his imperfect plants are nearly the same as what Jussieu named Acotyledonous, what we call Cellular, and what the recent designations of Flowerless or Sexless, which are little more than compressions of Ray's technical definition of imperfect plants, correctly express. At first he separated ferns and their allies from his imperfect plants, but he afterwards united them.

All other plants he called *Perfect* or *Flowering*, and divided into *Monocotyledons* and *Dicotyledons*, which is the essential part of the Natural System of Jussieu. This distinction Ray learned from Grew and Malpighi, but that which in their hands was nothing more than a naked fact, became, under the operation of the powerful mind of Ray, a mighty truth, a spark which was in time

to illuminate the whole vegetable kingdom; in fact he himself blew it into a flame: such is the difference between an observer and a philosopher! What is extremely remarkable, he not only founded this great distinction among flowering plants, but he stated in express terms that Monocotyledons, with a few exceptions, "have grassy, simple leaves, which are no way cut, notched, or lacerated, and have straight, not branched, longitudinal veins (fibri), and altogether a different texture from other plants." Both these great classes he divided again into *Apetalous* or *Stamineous*, and *Petaloid* orders; so that he distinctly indicated the great modern groups of *Apetalous* or *Monochlamydeous*, and *Dichlamydeous* orders among Dicotyledons, and of *Gymnaceæ* as distinguished from other Monocotyledons. From all these, in conformity to popular usage, he separated Trees and Shrubs, dividing them into Monocotyledons, or Palms, including Bamboos; and into Dicotyledons, among which *Coniferae*, *Betulineæ*, *Cupuliferae*, *Pomaceæ*, &c., were distinctly indicated.

In the admission into his system of a separation of Trees from Herbs, Ray has been severely censured; and he himself was as much aware of the fault as his critics; but he justifies himself upon the ground of expediency and convenience, and it must in fairness be conceded that if it were not for the Papilionaceous plants which were thus divided from other *Leguminosæ*, there was little contrary to nature in the groups to which his system led, however indefensible the principle may be upon which the error was defended; and it is by the state of botanical materials which Ray possessed that he is to be judged, not by the knowledge that has been accumulated since his death.

Some progress had already been made in distinguishing natural orders when Ray became an author; what he found had mostly been formed from groups the limits of which could not well be overlooked, such as *Scellatæ*, *Umbelliferae*, *Compositæ*, *Labiata*, *Boraginæ*, and *Cruciferae*. These he of course adopted from those who had gone before him; confirming their validity however,

adapting them skilfully to his system, and either expressly or substantially laying the foundation of many more, as of *Coniferae*, *Betulinae*, *Cucurbitaceae*, *Pomaceae*, *Polygoniae*, and the three primary subdivisions of *Compositae*.

In this sketch of Ray's system we have probably been guilty of some unimportant anachronisms, referring to the date of the *Historia Plantarum* a few opinions which did not in fact appear till fifteen or sixteen years afterwards; but this, we conceive, is of no practical importance. What it was material to show was how far Ray did really advance with his systematic ideas; in order that the true source of the philosophy of botany may be understood, and that the world may know that it is neither to France nor Sweden, but to England herself and the University of Cambridge, that the glory is to be ascribed of having produced the father of modern botany. We think it must be clear that it is upon the unacknowledged system of Ray that the more perfect arrangement of Jussieu was essentially founded, far more than upon that of Tournefort, which, like many that intervened between the time of Ray and Jussieu, neglected the fundamental distinctions of Imperfect from Perfect plants, and of Dicotyledons from Monocotyledons, and was in all respects immeasurably inferior both in talent and utility. The system of Tournefort was in fact blemished by the adoption of the worst parts of that of Ray, and the exclusion of his fundamental distinctions; and was nothing more than a bad modification of the system of Ray, with some improvements in secondary characters, which themselves are borrowed from Rivinus. It would be difficult to find a living botanist who, upon a comparison of Ray's *Methodus* with the systems of even Boerhaave, van Royen, Haller, or Bernard de Jussieu, all of whom succeeded him, would hesitate to admit that in philosophical views, a deep knowledge of his subject, a clear perception of natural affinity, and the rare power of distinguishing exceptions from general rules, Ray was far more conspicuous than even Haller himself. The fault of Ray was a dread of too much innovation, which made him

adhere against his better judgment to the distinction of Trees from Herbs; for whatever may be the merits of the *juste milieu* system in politics, it is certainly not calculated for the advancement of science. He was also unfortunate in the want of a clear and simple nomenclature; had he instead of Linnæus fortunately perceived the importance of the latter, the great Swedish naturalist could never have gained that hold on men's minds he so long possessed, and we should this day refer to the times of Ray as the commencement of the era of philosophical botany instead of to Linnæus and Jussieu. Ray has been censured for his terming his natural orders *summa genera*, and his subordinate groupæ, or real genera, *genera subalterna*—but this is a childish criticism worthy only of the school by which it has been suggested.

Mr. Ray seems now to have devoted himself entirely to the profession of an author. His Catalogue was recast in 1690 in a methodical form and published under the name of *Synopsis methodica Stirpium Britannicarum*; then followed his *Wisdom of God manifested in the works of the Creation*, in 1691; three *Physico-theological Discourses*, in 1692; a systematical *Synopsis of Quadrupeds* and a translation of *Rauwolf's Oriental Travels*, in 1693; an alphabetical Catalogue of European plants not English, partly observed by himself in his travels, in 1694; and a second edition of his *Synopsis*, in 1696.

Of these works two in particular deserve to be noticed. His *Synopsis*, which was the first systematic English Flora, and which from its cheapness served better than his larger works to make his arrangement known among his countrymen, is considered by some writers, who do not seem to have been able to appreciate the high merits of his *Historia*, as the "great corner-stone of his reputation." Without assigning it by any means so high a station, it must be allowed that it added most justly to a reputation which already stood higher than the highest. It was the result of many years' consideration, of several journeys through England taken expressly for the collection of materials, and of a personal examination of every plant that it contained. "Of all the systematical

and practical Floras of any country," says Smith, who in a criticism of this sort may be admitted as a competent authority, "the second edition of Ray's Synopsis is the most perfect that has come under our observation. He examined every plant recorded in his work, and even gathered most of them himself. He investigated their synonyms with consummate accuracy, and if the clearness and precision of other authors had equalled his, he would scarcely have committed an error. It is difficult to find him in a mistake or misconception regarding Nature herself, though he sometimes misapprehends the bad figures or lame descriptions he was obliged to consult."

Of his Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation, which was his most popular work, it is difficult to speak in terms of adequate praise. It may be considered not only as an admirable explanation of the truths which bear upon its subject, put into a form "suitable to all men's apprehension, and facile to their understanding," but as a good summary of Mr. Ray's extensive knowledge of the general facts of natural history. In this, as in all things, his careful separation of what he considered certain truths from possible errors is especially conspicuous, as well as the anxiety with which he distinguishes things the exactness of which is known to himself, from what rests upon the authority of others; "being most careful to admit nothing for matter of fact or experiment but what is undoubtedly true, lest I should build upon a sandy and ruinous foundation, and by the admixture of what is false render what is true suspicious." One of the reasons he alleges for having written this work is that he "suspects himself obliged to write something on divinity, having written so much on other subjects; for not being permitted (1691) to serve the church with my tongue in preaching, I know not but it may be my duty to serve it by my hand in writing."

Of this work it is not too much to say that, however inferior it may be in some respects to Paley, it is, considering the time at which it was published, by far the most perfect and beautiful of all the demonstrations of natural theology.

Its style is clear, simple, and forcible; the illustrations are generally selected with consummate skill; and the argument is so happily divested of all metaphysical subtlety as to be intelligible to the most humble capacity. Not a word is introduced which can be construed by the most perverse imagination into an attack upon controversial points in religion, but it is equally calculated to secure the approbation of Jew and Christian, of the highest Churchman or the most determined Presbyterian; no trifling merit in a work that was composed at a time when fanaticism of one kind or other scourged the land.

It would be unjust to Ray's memory if we did not give some specimen of his English style. The following will give a good idea of his manner of summing up his subject:—

“Methinks by all this provision for the use and service of man, the Almighty interpretatively speaks to him in this manner: I have now placed thee in a spacious and well-furnished world; I have endued thee with an ability of understanding what is beautiful and proportionable, and have made that which is so agreeable and delightful to thee. I have provided thee with materials whereon to exercise and employ thy art and strength; I have given thee an excellent instrument, the *HAND*, accommodated to make use of them all; I have distinguished the earth into hills, and valleys, and plains, and meadows, and woods; all these parts capable of culture and improvement by thy industry; I have committed to thee for thy assistance in thy labours in plowing, and carrying, and drawing, and travel, the laborious ox, the patient ass, and the strong and serviceable horse; I have created a multitude of seeds for thee to make choice out of them of what is most pleasant to thy taste, and of most wholesome and plentiful nourishment; I have also made great variety of trees bearing fruit both for food and physic, these, too, capable of being improved by transplantation, stercoration, incision, pruning, watering, and other arts and devices. Till and manure thy fields, sow them with thy seeds; extirpate noxious and unpro-

fitable herbs; guard them from the invasion and spoil of beasts; clear and fence in thy meadows and pastures; dress and prune thy vines, and so rank and dispose them as may be most suitable to the climate; plant the orchards with all sorts of fruit-trees, in such order as may be most beautiful to the eye and most comprehensive of plants; gardens for culinary herbs and all kinds of salletting; for delectable flowers to gratify the eye with their agreeable colours and figures, and thy scent with their fragrant odours; for odoriferous and ever-green shrubs and suffrutices; for exotic and medicinal plants of all sorts; and dispose them in that comely order as may be both pleasant to behold and commodious for thy access. I persuade myself that the bountiful and gracious author of man's being and faculties and all things else delights in the beauty of his creation, and is well pleased with the industry of man in adorning the earth with beautiful cities and castles, with pleasant villages and country houses, with regular gardens and orchards and plantations of all sorts of shrubs and herbs and fruits, for meat, medicine, or moderate delight; with shady woods and groves and walks set with rows of elegant trees; with pastures clothed with flocks, and valleys covered over with corn, and meadows burthened with grass, and whatever else differenceth a civil and well-cultivated region from a barren and desolate wilderness."

We have before observed that Mr. Ray was naturally of a delicate constitution; it had originally broken down under the fatigue of his college studies; it had been undermined by habits of unreasonable abstemiousness, and it may be supposed that the severe labour of preparing so many original works for publication would have still further increased his maladies. He had especially been long tormented with ulcers in his legs, attended with intolerable itching and agonizing pain, which it was impossible for human nature to endure with the composure requisite for continued study. This appears at last to have almost put a stop to his pursuits; for during seven years, from 1696 to 1703, he published nothing except his *Persuasion to a holy Life*, which is

characterized as being devoid of religious bigotry and party spirit, and employing the plain and solid arguments of reason for the best of purposes.

During this period, however, Ray, if silent, was not unemployed. He occupied himself with an improvement of his *Methodus*, which, though printed in Holland in 1703, bears upon its title London and the names of London booksellers, a proceeding which the Dutch publisher considered necessary for his profit, but at which Ray's honesty was greatly scandalized.

In 1704 he printed a third volume of his *Historia Plantarum*; but it was evident from this that his mind was at length giving way to the attacks of disease, and that the time was close at hand when he was to die: this, in fact, occurred shortly afterwards; he expired in his house at Black Notley on the 17th January, 1705, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He is said to have been offered a place in the chancel of the village church for his interment; but, simple in his manners to the last, he preferred to be buried by the side of his forefathers in the churchyard, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory, at the expense, it is said, in part at least, of Bishop Compton, with a long and elegant Latin epitaph by the Reverend William Coyte of Ipswich. When in 1737 the monument had been defaced, it was repaired at the charge of Dr. Legge and removed to the chancel; but his daughters, not forgetful of their kind parent's wishes, insisted upon its being restored to its original station. Forty-five years afterwards it was again repaired at the expense of the late Sir Thomas Cullum; and finally, on the 29th of November, 1828, a public commemoration of the second centenary of his birth was attended by all the friends and professors of science then present in London.

His posthumous works were an *Historia Insectorum*, published in 1710 at the expense of the Royal Society, and a *Synopsis of Birds and Fishes*, which, though written in 1694, was not printed till 1713, under the care of his biographer Dr. Derham. Besides these, and the works already adverted to in the course of the pre-

sent memoir, he was also the author of several papers in the Transactions of the Royal Society and of several minor works.

Such was the earthly course of the greatest of English Naturalists; whose attainments were so high and varied that he excelled his contemporaries in every branch of science to which he directed his attention: he found Natural History mere dross, and it turned beneath his touch to sterling metal.

Of his reputation in some particular departments mention has been already made; as a general zoologist his talents were of the highest order.

Upon his skill as a geologist the following eulogium, pronounced by Professor Buckland at the commemoration dinner in 1828, is the best commentary. "In the department of science to which my own attention is peculiarly directed, the genius of Ray had made advances that would do honour to the present day. In his Treatise on the Wisdom of God in the Creation, he points out examples of design and utility in the form and structure and composition of our planet, founded on extensive and accurate observation of facts, and illustrated with sound argument, mixed with much good feeling and good sense. And in his Discourses on Chaos, Creation, and Deluge, there is a knowledge of many phenomena of the earth's surface, the discovery of which the present generation are too apt to consider as exclusively their own: that important and leading doctrine of the Huttonian theory, which attributes the elevation of islands, mountains, and continents to the force of vapour acting from below, is set forth in words that form almost an exact parallel to the statements of the same theory in Playfair's Illustrations; the theory, in neither case, was new; it was indeed handed down from high antiquity; but it is illustrated by Ray with such abundant arguments and examples, derived from the effects of earthquakes and volcanoes which in his time raged so terribly in Jamaica,

and with such copious and judicious references to the authentic records of the elevation of Thera, Therasia, and other volcanic islands, that the essence and leading features of much that has been written since on the theory of elevation and disturbance of subterranean vapours, have been anticipated by Ray. His remarks on the structure of mountains, as containing and affording access to metallic veins; their influence on climate, and use in collecting clouds for the formation of rain and production of rivers; his observations also on the general diffusion of springs, and their never-failing supply of water as derived from rains and dews, shew much accurate observation, and point out correct conclusions which have been often repeated but rarely surpassed by his followers on these subjects.

“In another curious and extensive branch of geological inquiry, which relates to the history of fossil shells, he contended (in opposition to the prevailing theories of his predecessors, and of many of his contemporaries), that they were not accidental results of the plastic power and the sport of Nature, but the real and true exuviae of animals that formerly inhabited them. He contended further, that these shells, for the most part, belong to species unknown in our existing waters, but recommends caution in pronouncing them to be absolutely extinct until we know the contents of the bottoms of all our deepest seas. Can it be said that modern geology has advanced on this point much further than Ray?”

But it is more especially as a Botanist that his memory deserves to be cherished and revered. He first gave to England a rank in Botany of which other nations might be envious, and which it behoves her sons to be anxious to preserve. Not however by maintaining a slavish system of partizan disputes about the respective merits of a French or a Swedish master, but by a steady perseverance in that course of original observation and independent thought in which Ray so much excelled.

In the whole history of Botany there are but five great eras. Theophrastus first collected and digested the knowledge that was scattered among the schools of

Greece; Grew and Malpighi, by their microscopical observations, laid the foundation of vegetable physiology; Ray systematised botany upon sound philosophical principles and formed it into a science; Linnæus gave it a definite and logical language; and, finally, Göthe demonstrated the simplicity and harmony of the laws of vegetable organisation. Of these writers the two whom it is most interesting to compare with each other are Ray and Linnæus. If the latter gave natural history a prodigious impulse by the unsparing reform which he introduced into the technical and literary department, on the other hand the check produced by his artificial system acted with so nearly equal an antagonist force, that it is difficult now to show whether the boon or the injury conferred by Linnæus upon science were the greater. Ray, on the contrary, who, although an accomplished scholar, was evidently no verbal critic (for the great importance of verbal criticism in natural history had still to be discovered), taking Nature and philosophy for his guides, and steadily refusing to desert them either for temporary convenience or long-enduring popularity, leaving behind him no evil to counterbalance the good that he had done, became the founder of a system which is now recognised through the scientific world as the only one that is conformable to Nature and worthy of Science. Under the name of the Natural System of Jussieu, we have finally accepted the substance of the method and philosophy of Ray. It would be invidious to carry the comparison much further; but we must be permitted to add that if these two eminent men are to be characterized in one sentence, it may be said of them, that Linnæus wrote for collectors, Ray for philosophers. That the former was more indebted to the latter for his fame than is generally supposed is evident from this single fact, that in the fifteenth page of the Preface of Ray's *Stirpium Europæarum extra Britannias nascentium Sylloge*, the universality of sexes in plants, which is the corner-stone of Linnæus's fame as a botanist, is distinctly insisted upon.

With regard to Ray's worldly affairs it is pleasing to

be able to state, that notwithstanding the destruction of his hopes of temporal prosperity by the flagitious act of King Charles, we learn from his will that he died possessed of houses and lands, and a small store of ready money. His circumstances therefore, if not considerable, were by no means straitened, for independently of such means he had Mr. Willughby's annuity and what the booksellers paid him for his works. The latter, however, appears to have been very trifling, for he states in one of his letters that he obtained only 30*l.* a volume for his *Historia Plantarum*, and as each volume consists of nearly a thousand pages folio, his remuneration did not exceed 7*d.* a page, or 2*s.* 4*d.* a sheet. Among his legacies was 4*l.* to the poor of Black Notley, and 5*l.* to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the purchase of books for their college library. Thus, in his old age, he remembered with affection the friends of his youth, and he continued to regard his alma mater with kindness and respect, although she had refused to protect him from the hand of the persecutor.

To sum up in a few words a character of which a volume might be written; it may be said of Mr. Ray, that he was a man of whom it is difficult to speak too highly, whether for his strong good sense and extensive learning, or for his kindness of heart, simplicity of life, and strict integrity of conduct. As a husband and a father he was tender and affectionate; as a neighbour charitable to the extent of his means; as a gentleman high-minded and of uncompromising honour; and as a clergyman meek beneath oppression, patient under long suffering, and inspired with the purest sentiments of religion. In troubled times, and under most difficult circumstances, with much to shake his principles on the one side, and more to tempt him on the other, he preserved so straight and honest a course that not even his enemies, if he really had any, have ventured to point out a single stain upon his escutcheon. He died at once a memorable and most instructive illustration of the impotence of earthly power, in the hands of bad men, either to destroy the temporal peace or to blast the future fame

